

Understanding the Agency of Diversity Managers: A Relational and Multilevel Investigation.

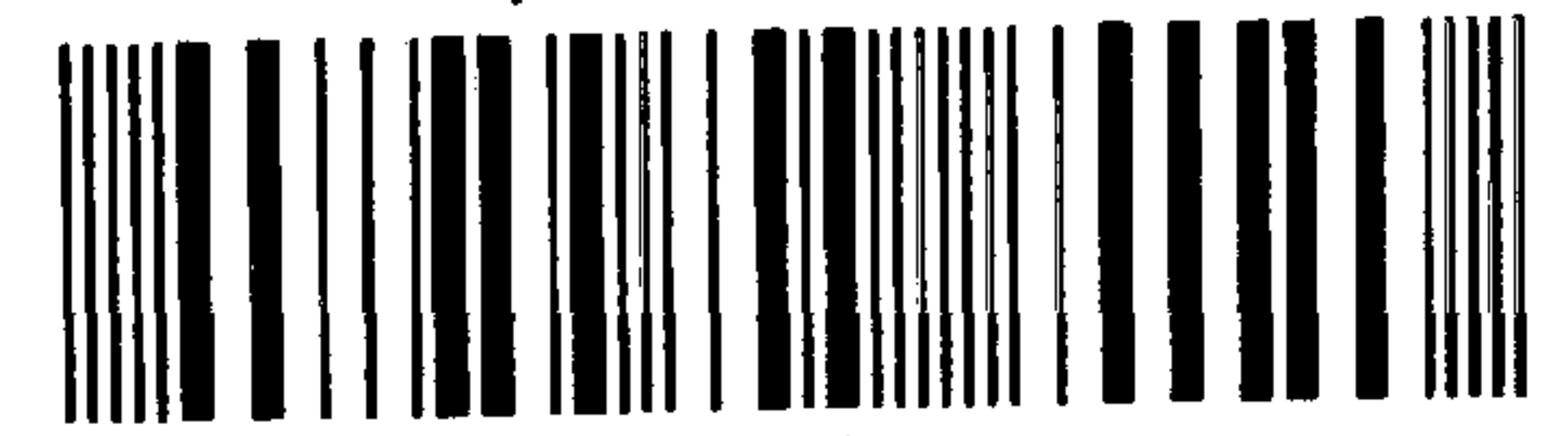
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Understanding the Agency of Diversity Managers: A Relational and Multilevel Investigation

Ahu Tatli

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
University of London for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Queen Mary, University of London

2008

Declaration of authorship

I, Ahu Tatli, declare that the thesis entitled ‘Understanding the Agency of Diversity Managers: A Relational and Multilevel Investigation’ and the work presented in it are my own. I confirm that:


This work was done mainly while in candidature for a research degree at Queen Mary University of London;

Where any part of this thesis has been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself.

Signed: 
Ahu Tatli

Date: January, 07, 2008

Abstract

This thesis aims to provide a critical realist account of diversity managers' agency, incorporating a critique of the existing diversity management research. A multilevel and relational analytical framework is offered in order to understand diversity managers' agency. The framework interpreted and operationalised Bourdieu's key concepts, 'field', '*habitus*', 'capitals' and 'strategies' in the organisational context, for exploring and explaining macro, meso and micro level influences on the agency of diversity managers.

The macro-social field of diversity management is mapped out by analysing data from an online national survey completed by diversity managers in the UK, and in-depth interviews with diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations. Then, findings of an extensive case study of Ford Motor Company, which includes company documentation and interviews with the company's diversity managers, are introduced to examine meso-organisational and micro-individual dynamics of diversity managers' agency.

The analysis of the findings revealed that the agency of diversity managers is multilayered and complex. Whilst the boundaries of this agency are drawn by the deeply seated structures and mechanisms which are embedded in the fabric of social and organisational lives, diversity managers own varying degrees of social, cultural and symbolic capitals which are potential sources of power and influence, and they utilise strategies in order to activate this potential and widen the scope of their agency.

The thesis addresses the limitations in diversity management literature, which are associated with dualisms of agency and structure, and qualitative and quantitative methods. It makes theoretical and methodological contribution by offering original empirical evidence generated through a multi-method strategy and analysing diversity managers' agency at the interplay of agentic and structural dynamics. It also offers policy makers at organisational and national levels a realistic understanding of diversity management processes that may inform design of more effective and progressive policies and initiatives.

Dedication

In loving memory of my grandmother
Ayse Sahin
1914-2007

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List of Abbreviations

AAEU	Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
DEAR	Diversity and Equality Assessment Review
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
ERG	Employee Resource Group
EU	European Union
FMC	Ford Motor Company
FoB	Ford of Britain
FoE	Ford of Europe
GMB	General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trade Union
HRM	Human Resource Management
MNC	Multi-national Corporation
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
TGWU	Transport and General Workers' Union
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UAW	United Automobile Workers
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In management and organisational studies, empirical and theoretical inquiries largely fail to study diversity managers as a professional group of workers (DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996; Lawrence 2000). The absence of academic interest on the issue is surprising, when one considers the ever growing literature in the field of diversity management. Stimulated by this gap in the academic literature and by my personal curiosity as a social science researcher, this thesis sets out to examine the agency of diversity managers. The work investigates the interplay of opportunities and constraints that shape the diversity managers' agency in their organisations through a multilevel and relational framework.

Since embarking on my doctoral studies in April 2003, I have become aware of the shortcomings of the mainstream diversity management literature, which heavily relies on social psychology tradition and which is characterised by exclusive attention to the individualised aspects of the process of managing diversity. Having been trained in sociology, I am inclined to think that studies, which overwhelmingly focus on individual level dynamics, draw not only incomplete, but also incorrect and ideological pictures of social reality. In order to provide a more realistic account of diversity managers' agency, in this PhD thesis, I examine the structural and agentic dynamics that underlie the actions, decisions and strategies of diversity managers, and the sources of power that are available to them from a sociological perspective.

This thesis makes an important contribution to organisational and management studies in general and to the literature in the field of equality and diversity in particular. Drawing on original field study evidence, it takes into account relations of power and domination and offers a sociologically informed and multilevel understanding of agency in organisations. There are a number of reasons that render the study of diversity managers' agency worthwhile and compelling. First, diversity managers' role involves design, communication, implementation and monitoring of diversity management policies, programmes, initiatives and activities. Diversity managers are the most visible

actors within the organisational diversity management processes. Some scholars suggest that the majority of organisational equality and diversity programmes fail (Acker 2007, Kalev et al. 2006). The research of diversity managers' role and effectiveness in their organisational settings may offer explanations for the reasons behind the success and failure of managing diversity initiatives. Furthermore, organisational resources devoted to diversity managers are important indications of the legitimacy and power of the diversity management policies and programmes within the context of organisations (Tatli and Özbilgin forthcoming 2007).

Second, managing diversity is a growing occupational area (Acker 2007). However, there is very little evidence on the role, power, resources and effectiveness of diversity managers. The role of diversity managers involves divided loyalties and conflicting interests (Meyerson and Scully 1995; Meyerson 2001ab; Parker 1999). On the one hand, diversity managers are tasked with design and implementation of programmes and policies, which arguably aim to promote diversity and inclusion (Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Mighty 1991). On the other hand, they are required to act within and strategically use the very organisational culture and structures of power and hegemony, which reproduce inequality and exclusion. The ambivalent status of diversity managers renders the study of their agency a very compelling and interesting area of research as it raises the question of whether they are change agents, tempered radicals or just protection officers. In addition, understanding the ambivalences experienced by diversity managers may offer a deeper recognition of the nature, scope and potential impact of diversity management approaches in terms of changing organisations.

The study of diversity managers' agency may also provide a better understanding of the rise and dominance of the diversity management discourse, and differences between equal opportunities and diversity management perspectives at the level of practice as well as discourse. Last but not the least, uncovering the dynamics of diversity managers' agency offers a contribution to the academic knowledge of the ways in which individuals affect change in their organisational settings and how they reproduce the existing power relations and hegemonic structures.

Informed by educational sociologist Bourdieu's theoretical work and the critical realist approach, this study explores and situates diversity managers' agency in its multilayered and relational context. Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1990ab, 1998a) approach

transcends the dualism of agency and structure, and offers a framework, through which social reality and human agency can be explored as multilevel and relational phenomena. Similarly, critical realist ontology and philosophy, which informs this thesis, sets out to overcome agency and structure dualism; advocates an understanding of social reality, which is layered; and emphasises that the task of social research is to investigate the unobservable, underlying mechanisms that shape social reality (Archer 1995, 2000; Bhaskar 1978, 1979, 1989; Brown et al. 2001; Layder 1998; MacLennan 1999; Roberts 2001; Sawyer 2002; Sayer 1992).

This PhD study offers a critical realist interpretation of Bourdieu's conceptual approach in the context of organisations, and sets out to offer a critical realist account of the agency of diversity managers. This account is based on research findings from multiple sources. In order to map out the diversity management territory in the UK, I draw on data from an online national survey which produced 285 completed questionnaires from diversity and equality officers, and 11 in-depth interviews with the diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations in the UK. Then, in order to examine diversity managers' agency in their actual organisational settings, I introduce the findings of a case study, which I conducted in Ford Motor Company. The case study involves the analysis of the company documentation and in-depth interviews, which were conducted with 12 diversity managers working for Ford in the UK, Europe and America. Combining three research methods, i.e. case study, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaire survey, the field study of this thesis brings fresh and original empirical evidence into the field of diversity management, in which rigorous empirical studies are scarce, and research access is hard to obtain.

1.2 Research questions

This thesis aims to explore the nature and boundaries of diversity managers' agency through investigation of macro, meso and micro level influences on this agency. The central question of this thesis is: what is the nature and boundaries of the diversity managers' agency? In order to answer the central research question in line with the aim of this thesis, three research questions are set out to explore the issue in a multilevel and relational framework. These research questions are:

- (i) How is the agency of diversity managers situated in the macro level socio-economic context of the field of diversity management?

- (ii) How do the meso level dynamics of organisational subfield and organisational *habitus* frame diversity managers' agency?
- (iii) What are the different forms of capital owned and strategies employed by diversity managers when they are realising their job roles, and how do these capitals and strategies shape the nature and boundaries of their agency?

1.3 The structure of the thesis

This thesis contains eleven chapters. The present chapter, Introduction, presents the research aim and poses three research questions, which this thesis seeks to investigate. Then, the structure of the thesis is introduced. In Chapter Two, I first present an account of the mainstream academic rhetoric on diversity management, and then critically discuss two building blocks of diversity management approach: the business case arguments and individualised definition of difference and diversity. The chapter also questions the validity of statements which suggest that diversity management represents a break from equal opportunities, and that the former is superior to the latter in terms of promoting organisational change. In the main, this chapter presents the background to the development of the diversity management discourse and structures in the UK.

Chapter Three reviews the change agency literature with a view to bring forth conceptual tools, which can be adopted in explicating the diversity managers' agency. The review of the change agency literature is followed by a critical account of the limitations of this literature particularly in terms of the objectives of this thesis. In Chapter Four, the analytical framework, which is used in this thesis as a means to explore the agency of diversity managers, is introduced. This framework is built upon the critical review of literatures on diversity management and change agency in Chapters Two and Three and it aims to overcome the limitations in those literatures. Drawing on Bourdieu's key concepts of 'field', '*habitus*', 'different forms of capital' and 'strategies' as 'orienting concepts' (Layder 1998), the proposed framework sets out to problematise the agency of diversity managers at macro, meso and micro levels. At a more philosophical level, the critical realist understanding of reality as a relational and multi-layered phenomenon informs the analytical framework of this study.

Chapter Five introduces the research philosophy, methodology and strategy. In this chapter, I present a discussion of critical realism as the research philosophy, which underpins this study. The chapter goes on to explain the specific methodologies and methodological principles, which were adopted in the study. A discussion of the

research strategy is presented by describing the processes of research design and data analysis. The chapter finally offers a reflexive account of the research process.

The analysis of the field study findings is presented in Chapters Six Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight aim to establish the context for the agency of diversity managers and are based on the analysis of in-dept interviews with the diversity managers of large organisations and the questionnaire survey data completed by 285 diversity and equality officers in the UK. Chapter Six explores and situates the field of diversity management in the wider web of fields. The diversity management field is explored and located in relations with three other fields: cultural, institutional and business fields. Chapters Seven and Eight present the internal logic and dynamics of the diversity management field, respectively, through an examination of discourse and practice of diversity management and an exploration of components of professional identity of diversity managers.

Building on the context set in the Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, subsequent two chapters of the thesis present meso and micro levels of analysis of diversity managers' agency in a global motor manufacturing company, the Ford Motor Company. Chapter Nine introduces the case study company and analyses the organisational level dynamics, involving the organisational subfield and *habitus*, which impact upon diversity managers' agency. Following that, in Chapter Ten, diversity managers' agency in the case of Ford Motor Company is explored at the micro level through the analysis of different forms of capital owned by diversity managers and the strategies that are utilised by them when realising their diversity management role.

Chapter Eleven presents a general discussion of the research findings. The research questions are revisited and answered in the light of the research findings. Reflecting on field research evidence, this chapter then provides an account of diversity managers' agency in terms of its resources and constraints, and highlights areas for future research. Then, I explain the original contribution of this research towards constructing a theory of the agency of diversity managers, as well as the implications of the study in terms of academic and practitioner understanding of the diversity management field. The chapter then presents theoretical, methodological and policy implications of the research. The thesis concludes with a reflexive evaluation of the research strategy and explains what I would do differently with hindsight.

Chapter Two

The Diversity Management Debate

2.1 Introduction

Managing diversity has become a popular perspective in both the academic and practitioner circles in the last two decades. The concept has been originated in the United States with the publication of *Workforce 2000: Work and workers for the 21st century* report (Johnston and Packer 1987) by Hudson Institute in 1987. In the 1990s, the concept has gained popularity as a new management approach in the UK.

Revisiting the diversity management discourse is necessary for the investigation of research questions which aim to understand the agency of diversity manager since this discourse both impacts upon the diversity manager's agency, and is utilised by the diversity managers themselves when they are doing their jobs.

This chapter first briefly examines the rising popularity of the diversity management discourse and introduces the key arguments made by mainstream diversity management scholars in order to justify the approach. Then, it introduces the literature on 'business case for diversity', that is the espoused causal relationship between effective management of diversity and improved business performance, and examines the limitations of this literature. The chapter ends with a critical discussion of two basic tenets of diversity management approach: individual-based definition of diversity and business case arguments.

2.2 From equal opportunities to diversity management

Although it was originally presented as a replacement for equality of opportunity (Thomas 1990), diversity management is also arguably built on the legacy of the equal opportunities (Liff 1996). As such legal compliance forms a major driver for employers to adopt diversity management policies and initiate diversity management programmes (Tatli et al. 2006a, forthcoming 2008b). Thus it is necessary to understand how equal opportunities legislation gave way to the development of diversity management practices.

Despite the fact that the interpretation and implementation of the EU legislation vary across member states in line with their gendered socio-economic contexts (Hoskyns

1996; Ostner and Lewis 1995; Perrons 2002), the EU framework has an important influence on the national equality legislations of the EU members. For instance, the most recently, sexual orientation, religion and belief, and age have been introduced in employment equality legislation in the UK in order to implement the European Employment Directive of 2000 (EC 2000a). Here I offer a brief sketch of the evolution of the equal opportunities approach of the EU. A more detailed historical account of the EU equal opportunities legislation is offered in Appendix I of the thesis.

Reviewing the EU's equal opportunities policies from 1950s to 2000s, Rees (1998) suggests that the Union has gone through three main periods: period of equal treatment (1970s), of positive action (1980s) and of gender mainstreaming (post-1990s). At the outset, the commitment of the EU to equal opportunities, which started in 1957 with Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome, was limited to equal pay for equal work, and was a result of economic concerns about fair competition between member states, rather than a concern about social justice and equality (Cox 1993; Hegewisch and Mayne 1994; Young 2000). Until the 1970s the Union did not take any further steps to promote equality between sexes. In the 1970s, the EU issued several equal opportunities and equal treatment directives on pay, working conditions, social security, training, recruitment and promotion (EC 1975, 1976, 1979).

The 1980s marked the beginning of the adoption of a more pro-active policy stance by the EU extending the scope of the Union's approach to equal opportunities beyond legalistic commitment to pay equality (EC 1982, 1984ab, 1986ab, 1988). However, the EU's equal opportunity approach during the 1980s still had serious limitations due to its gender neutral stance and treatment of equal opportunities policies just as an addendum to the general EU policies (Rubery et al. 1998; Young 2000). Rees (1998) identifies the 1990s as a period of gender mainstreaming, As a result of neo-liberal experiment, with the erosion of welfare states and the globalisation of economy, poverty and unemployment reached to unbearable levels both in the developed and developing countries in the period (UNRISD 1993, 1999, 2000; Dunford and Perrons 1994; Howarth 1999; Pena-Casas et al. 2002). Coupled with raising concerns about feminisation of poverty in the EU since the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, gender mainstreaming became a popular terms in the equal opportunities lexicon (EC 1996ab, 2000b; Perrons 2005).

The 2000s witnessed another shift in the EU's equal opportunities approach towards inclusion of multiple equality strands within the legal framework. In terms of gender equality, multiplicity of forms of discrimination has been identified as a major concern (EC 2000ac). The scope of the anti-discrimination clause has been widened to cover different forms of discrimination (i.e. sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion and belief, disability, age or sexual orientation) through Article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam and council directives (EC 2000a). It should be noted that the multiplication of the strands covered by the Union's equal opportunities framework can be interpreted as an indication of a move towards diversity management approach at the EU level.

Nevertheless, after half a century of the EU level commitment to equal opportunities, employment patterns in the EU countries, including the UK, are still gendered and women still suffer considerable disadvantages in the labour market in terms of employment rates, occupational segregation, both vertical and horizontal, gender pay gap (Cassell 1997; EOC 2004, 2005; Grimshaw and Rubery 2001; Lissenburgh 2000; Miller and Neathey 2004; Neathey et al. 2003; Olsen and Walby 2004; Perrons and Sigle-Rushton 2006; Rheem 1996; Sigle-Rushton and Perrons 2006; Women and Work Commission 2006).

Yet, equal opportunities legislation has led to proliferation of equal opportunities initiatives at organisational and national levels. However, some scholars argued that most of organisational efforts did not go beyond paying lip service to the principle of anti-discrimination by the employers who were predominantly preoccupied with avoiding employment tribunals (Morgan 1996; Rees 1998). The equal opportunities approach has been criticised from within by equal opportunities scholars in terms of limitations of positive action measures and a legalistic stance to transform workplaces practices and social structures that reproduce and sustain disadvantage, discrimination and inequality (Cockburn 1989; Jewson and Mason 1986; Liff and Wajcman 1996; Rees 1998).

In the early 1990s' US context, critique of equal opportunities approaches was associated with an advocacy of a new approach, diversity management (Ashkanasy et al. 2002; Carroll and Hannan 2000; Thomas 1990). In the mainstream diversity management literature the importance of legal regulations is underplayed. Diversity management is claimed to be marked by a voluntary approach on the side of employers that come forth by the business realities of the era, rather than a legal enforcement as in

the case of equal opportunities practices (Calori et al. 1995; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Morrison 1992; Soni 2000; Thomas 1990). The main features of the current business environment whose natural outcome has been the increasing diversity of workforce are suggested as changing patterns of labour market demographics, globalisation and internationalisation of business, and changing patterns of work organisation, production and competition.

First, skill shortages, aging population, and international migration are frequently used to demonstrate the increasing diversity in the labour market, thus, the necessity of diversity management (Briscoe 2001; Cervantes and Guellec 2002; Gilbert and Stead 1999; Home Office 2002; Jackson 1992; Philpott 2002). The second externally driven justification for diversity management is constructed around globalisation (Heijltjes 2003; Marable 2000). It is argued that workforce diversity is a strategic part of an organisation's social capital (Putnam 1993; Schiff 1999) and provides MNCs with a capacity to deal with the culturally diverse contexts and to implement corporate strategies such as market penetration, product differentiation, innovation or integration (Adler 1986; Adler and Ghadar 1990; Chevrier 2003; Loosemore and Al Muslmani 1999; Phillips 1992; Welch and Welch 1997).

Finally, mainstream diversity management scholars claimed that changing patterns of work organisation, production and competition are sources of external pressures for employers to adopt diversity management approaches (Ashkanasy et al. 2002; Carroll and Hannan 2000; Kandola and Pearn 1992). In the era of post-Taylorism and highly competitive global market, it is claimed, firms increasingly need to adopt flexible forms of organisation that allow wider space for cost reduction, diversification and innovation, and higher levels of adaptiveness and responsiveness to change simultaneously (Boxall and Purcell 2003; Piore and Sabel 1984; Procter and Mueller 2000; Schneider and Northcraft 1999; Schoenberger 1997). Diversity management is presented as a necessity for organisations to foster flexible, adaptive, creative, innovative and committed human resources (Allard 2002; Blazevic and Lievens 2004; Chevrier 2003). Upon that background of changing business environment, a mainstream academic discourse on business case for diversity has been developed. The next section identifies the three main statements and their respective logics, which aim to relate workforce diversity to business performance and profit.

2.3 Business case for diversity

With the debates and policies on diversity management, discussions on business related motivations and reasons for managing diversity substitute the emphasis on ethics and justice that largely frames the equal opportunities efforts. Within that literature, even the ethical or legal compliance reasons that enforce diversity management are linked to and subsumed under business case arguments (Dobbs 1998; Evenden 1993; Gilbert et al. 1999; Tyson 1995). It is possible to summarise the mainstream business case arguments in three statements, each referring to a different operational area of organisation:

Diversity enhances the customer relations and increases the market share.

It is suggested that diversity contributes to increased market share through enhanced ability to deal with culturally diverse customers and increased sales to different segments of the society and minority-culture groups, thereby increasing customer satisfaction and enhancing customer relations (Bhadury et al. 2000; Cox 1991; Cox and Blake 1991; Fernandez 1991). This is explained by the likelihood and willingness of the customers to buy from the persons with whom they can identify themselves, as well as their intention to buy from companies that are promoting diversity (Morrison 1992).

Diversity improves labour relations and reduces the cost of labour.

It is indicated that employers, who successfully manage diversity, are in a more advantageous position to attract and retain the best personnel with scarce skills (Woods and Sciarini 1995); they spend less for their recruitment efforts (McEnrue 1993) and suffer less from the costs stemming from high levels of labour turnover and absenteeism, and discrimination lawsuits (Cox 1991, 1993; Fernandez 1991; Morrison 1992).

Diversity increases the quality and performance of internal workforce in terms of skills, creativity, problem solving and flexibility.

The effects of diversity on organisational outcomes such as performance, creativity, teamwork and problem solving, attract the most interest among the diversity scholars. In fact, most of the diversity research focuses on these issues, although the findings suggest mixed and conflicting results as explained later. Advocates of the diversity management approach argue that an inclusive diversity climate in organisations enhances the performance and productivity of employees by increasing job satisfaction

and commitment (Morrison 1992). Furthermore, diversity of workforce, it is argued, would foster adaptability to environmental change and organisational flexibility, and therefore it would provide a competitive edge to the organisation (Cox 1991, 1993; Cox and Blake 1991; Fernandez 1991). Among other frequently cited benefits of diversity are improvements in quality of management and decreased levels of frustration among supervisors, (Cox 1991, 1993; Fernandez 1991; McEnrue 1993; Morrison 1992). Finally, it is argued that workforce diversity fosters organisational effectiveness through increased organisational and individual creativity and innovation, and improved decision-making and problem solving by providing the work teams with different and diverse perspectives (Bantel and Jackson 1989; Bhadury et al. 2000; Cordero et al. 1997; Cox et al. 1991; Hambrick et al. 1996; Kirchmeyer and McLellan 1991; Smith et al. 1994; Watson et al. 1993).

Despite the three statements above on the business benefits of diversity, there is another body of literature which suggests that workforce diversity may have negative impact on business performance. Negative organisational outcomes of workforce diversity that are cited in the literature include low morale, ambiguity, conflict and tension, confusion and communication problems, higher labour turnover, decreased organisational attachment, and reduction in the effectiveness and cohesion of workforce (e.g. Chevrier 2003; Cox 1991, 1993; Dwyer et al. 2003; Milliken and Martins 1996; Murray 1989; Nemetz and Christensen 1996; O'Reilly et al. 1989; Raghuram and Garud 1996; Robbins 2001; Thomas and Ely 2002; Tsui and Ashford 1991; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). Furthermore, studies analysing the impact of diversity on different groups of employees indicate that effects of and reactions to workforce diversity may show variations for different demographic groups (Cordero et al. 1997; DiTomaso et al. 1996; Knouse and Dansby 2000; Tsui et al. 1992; Wharton and Baron 1987).

The research findings, which suggest that diversity may lead to negative organisational outcomes, signal that building the legitimacy of diversity management solely on business case is a dangerous move as it engenders the possibility of abandonment of equality, inclusion and diversity initiatives, if they are not seen profitable. From a macro-economic perspective, Perrons (1995: 73-74) argues that business benefits of diversity and equality are at least partially dependent on cyclical economic change. That is why, she maintains, legislative enforcement is necessary to promote equality in the field of employment.

Furthermore, the conflicting evidence on outcomes of workforce diversity reveals the limitations of the current diversity management research. Most of the research on the effects of workforce diversity is limited to the investigation of the interpersonal and inter-group interaction (Mor Barak 2000). Many of the works are based on the experimental and laboratory studies (e.g. Nemeth 1986; Watson et al. 1993) rather than empirical research conducted in actual organisational contexts. Limitations of the literature indicate a need for academic research which transcends the rhetoric of business case and situates the processes of diversity management within its social and organisational contexts. Furthermore, the aforementioned conflicting evidence suggests that diversity *per se* does not automatically lead to business success. For instance, it is argued that simply changing the structure or composition of workforce does not necessarily lead to business success, but a process of cultural change needs to be initiated through diversity management programmes and policies (Ancona and Caldwell 1992; Cox and Blake 1991; DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996; Phillips 1992; Woods and Sciarini 1995).

Three contextual factors are cited in the literature as intervening the effects of workforce diversity on business outcomes: nature of the work task, corporate business strategy and organisational context. First, it is noted that diversity provides a competitive advantage when performance of novel and complex work tasks which require high levels of creative thinking, innovation and problem solving skills, are at stake (Cordero et al. 1997; Dwyer et al. 2003). Second, there is evidence that the firms adopting growth strategies benefit from increased levels of performance, which stem from workforce diversity (Dwyer et al. 2003; Richard 2000; Schuler and Jackson 1987). On the other hand, racial diversity is indicated to be associated with harmful and negative outcomes for the downsizing firms (Richard 2000).

Third, organisational context is cited as a factor, which impacts on business outcomes of diversity. It is argued that certain types of organisational cultures nurture the positive effects of diversity while others dampen them. Chatman et al. (1998) found that organisational cultures based on collectivist values positively moderate the relationship between workforce diversity and business performance by dissolving the conflicts stemming from diversity and fostering the potential benefits of it. On the basis of their survey of 535 banks, Dwyer et al. (2003: 1011-1012) argued that positive impact of gender diversity on business performance is evident only in certain type of organisational cultures (i.e. in 'clan culture type', which is characterised by

participation, teamwork, consensual problem solving and decision-making, and ‘adhocracy culture type’, which is characterised by flexibility, spontaneity, individualism, entrepreneurship, and creativity). Finally, it is put forward that organisations that embrace the diversity and equality would take the advantage of their diverse workforce through increased effectiveness, satisfaction and commitment among employees (Bhadury et al. 2000; Knouse and Dansby 2000).

2.4 Diversity management versus equal opportunities?

In this section I scrutinise the differences and similarities between the equal opportunities and diversity management approaches. This comparison aims to reach at a less rhetorical and more critical conception of diversity management and is based on two basic philosophical building blocs of the managing diversity approach: sublimation of difference as an individually based phenomenon and emphasis on the business case.

2.4.1 Definition of diversity: social groups or individuals

Philosophically grounded on 19th century liberal thought and first wave women’s movement, the idea of equal opportunities is based on the belief in principles of individualism and merit (Jaquette 1990; Rubenstein 1986). The equal opportunities scholars argued that one of the limitations of the approach is its ignorance of the hidden male bias in the merit based criteria. It is noted that by focusing on the sameness of individuals, equal opportunities approaches implicitly posit male characteristics and behaviours as the universal norm (Liff and Wajcman 1996) and assume that individuals can be easily undressed of the historical disadvantages associated with their gender and ethnicity (Liff 1996). Rees (1998) argues that equal opportunities programmes has enhanced the position of professional, middle class women without seriously threatening the status quo and challenging the discrimination experienced by less advantaged categories of women. Analysing the gendered employment patterns and changes to the gender pay gap in the context of labour market deregulation in Britain, Bruegel and Perrons (1998) point out to the limitations of equal opportunities frameworks and policies, which do not acknowledge and are not linked to wider economic policies.

In order to overcome the liberal bias in equal opportunities frameworks Jewson and Mason (1986) propose a ‘radical approach’. They distinguish between liberal and radical approaches to change, where the scope of the former is limited to equality of

opportunity while the latter aims for equality and fairness in outcomes. On the other hand Cockburn (1989) critiques the liberal and radical dichotomy posited by these authors and puts forward the terms of ‘short agenda’ and ‘long agenda’ both of which are crucial for the equal opportunities initiatives and programmes. She states that short and long agendas should not be understood as contradictory but complementary within the equal opportunities framework where the short agenda will focus on minimising the bias in HRM procedures; whereas the long agenda will target the transformation of the field of employment and organisations to radically dissolve the discrimination and inequality in the workplace (Cockburn 1989: 218).

Within that context, Rees (1998) argues that mainstreaming is the way out from the deadlock position of the current state of equal opportunities approach since it provides a solution both to the limited liberal scope of positive action measures and to the issue of multiple discrimination. Reviewing the EU level equal opportunities policies, she argues that the mainstreaming approach has become more pronounced within the equal opportunities framework. On the other hand, Young (2000) points out the danger that in the process of mainstreaming, equal opportunities measures may be diluted.

Simultaneous with these discussions regarding the equal opportunities approach, diversity management has been proposed by others as a way forward. It is alleged that the managing diversity perspective has an advantage over equal opportunities due to its emphasis on difference and inclusion as opposed to latter’s emphasis on sameness and focus on gender and ethnicity, which led to backlash by the majority group members in the organisations (Thomas 1990). The below quotation from Ashkanasy et al. (2002: 310) is an illustrative example of common claims on differences between the two approaches in the mainstream literature:

Diversity management refers to a model of inclusion of all employees in both formal company programmes and informal networks. It presents a voluntary organisational programme that enhances the perception of employees and potential candidates, and where women and other disadvantaged minorities in the workforce are positioned according to merit.

Thus, it is proposed in the literature that diversity management represents a shift from representation and legislation to inclusion, and voluntary and proactive stance regarding the organisational change. However, the ability of a diversity management approach to propose realistic policies and programmes to tackle inequality and discrimination in the workplace depends on the nature of the treatment of difference within that approach as

well as the organisational power that diversity managers may impose in order to engender change.

The scope of the characteristics that are included in the definition of diversity has been widely varied in the literature displaying a spectrum ranging from the narrow definition based on the traditional categories of race, ethnicity and gender to inclusion of a vast array of differences in age, sexual orientation, disability, employment status, tenure, function, educational background, lifestyle, religion, values and beliefs (Ashkanasy et al. 2002). Kandola and Fullerton (1998: 7) who produced the most influential definition of diversity management in the UK, include a wide range of differences in their definition of diversity:

The basic concept of managing diversity accepts that the workforce consists of a diverse population of people. The diversity consists of visible and nonvisible differences which will include factors such as sex, age, background, race, disability, personality and workstyle. It is founded on the premise that harnessing these differences will create a productive environment in which everyone feels valued, where their talents are being fully utilised and in which organisational goals are met.

This definition reveals two important aspects of diversity management approach, that is, reduction of workforce diversity to individually based differences and emphasis on organisational goals while avoiding any mention of discrimination on which equal opportunities discourses are focused. Indeed, diversity management is proposed as a panacea for inclusion of all workers. Criticising the mainstream literature on diversity management, Zanoni and Janssens (2003) point out the tendency to define diversity on individual terms and to ignore structures of power and inequality in the dominant discourses of diversity. In a similar fashion Agocs and Burr (1996) argue that the language of diversity training programmes are crowded with words such as ‘diversity’ and ‘multiculturalism’ while there is hardly any mention of ‘racism’, ‘sexism’, or ‘discrimination’ and any reference to disadvantaged groups as target of diversity management.

Blindness to social categories such as gender, race, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation may undermine the equality efforts and dilute the message of equal opportunities policies. It should be taken into account that difference and diversity are socially constructed phenomena which transcend the seemingly ‘neutral’ individual differences. Equating difference with individual preferences and choices which supposedly reflect the uniqueness of each individual entails the risk of blindness

towards the wider historical and social dynamics that contribute to the construction of difference. Differences, which are based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, disability or age, are historically and socially constructed, and they draw the lines of inequality, discrimination, domination and subordination in society (Bradley 1996, 2007; Cavanaugh 1997). Moreover, even the differences that seem to be more individually specific such as life style, taste, workstyle, functional or educational background are most of the time shaped by gender, sexuality, ethnicity or social class identity. In that sense overcoming discrimination and inequality requires engagement with the effects of past discrimination and careful questioning of the commonsense assumptions that govern the organisational field (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000).

The most important area that diversity management promises an improvement over equal opportunities framework is the emphasis on cultural change in organisations (Liff 1996). However, the nature and scope of the organisational change that is cited in the literature (Bendict et al. 2001; Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Mighty 1991) is far from being clear as well as the tools, methods and strategies to be employed for achieving that change apart from the frequent reference made to 'multiculturalism'. Moreover, it remains doubtful whether diversity management approaches, which overlook group-based differences, and structural inequalities based on these differences, are capable of realising their promise of organisational change. Organisational change towards more welcoming and inclusive work environments would require changing the policies, procedures and practices in organisation as well as relationships between diverse groups of employees.

Unfortunately, literature on diversity management mostly deals with the diagnoses of differences, instead of the deeply rooted systemic inequality. This weakness in the literature is closely connected with its theoretical loyalty to social psychology, particularly to social identity, social categorisation and attribution theories which result in a focus on ethnocentrism, prejudice and stereotyping rather than discrimination (DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996). As DiTomaso and Hooijberg (1996) state seeing workplace diversity with the lenses of social psychology leads to a very simplistic picture of the issue as a problem of awareness and perception where negative consequences of diversity are attributed to misunderstanding due to the ignorance of the members of diverse groups of the commonalities between them that are hidden by the 'superficial' differences. So, the issue becomes one of informing the organisational members about the similarities between individuals as well as uniqueness of each

individual and creating mutual respect, understanding and trust between them. Explaining inter-group relationships on such an individualistic basis may be an appealing approach for the majority group members in the organisation, while minority group members are struggling with the effects of the unequal power distribution in the organisation (Aldefer and Smith 1982).

Against the tendency of sublimation of difference as an individually based phenomenon in the social psychology oriented diversity management literature, this thesis sets out to provide a more sociologically informed approach to diversity management in order to overcome the limitations of the individualistic philosophy that informs the diversity management literature, and in order to better understand the organisational dynamics of workforce diversity since difference and diversity are socially constructed categories and workplace as a unit of research cannot be fully understood if it is not conceptualised as embedded in society. If one of the characteristics of the mainstream diversity management literature is its theoretical orientation around social psychology, the other is its emphasis on business case. I will critically engage with the business case rhetoric in the next sub-section.

2.4.2 Justification of diversity management: Ethical case or business case

It is argued that as opposed to equal opportunities policies which are characterised as externally driven mostly by anti-discrimination legislation and based on ethical case arguments, diversity management policies are internally driven and based on the proactive stance taken by employers since it makes business sense (McDougall 1996). In effect, most of the literature on diversity management is focused on presenting a set of positive business outcomes associated with workforce diversity.

However, as explained in detail previously, despite the growing body of literature on the effects of workforce diversity on business success, research in this field remains scant and unsystematic regarding what constitutes diversity in terms of unit of analysis and dependent variables under investigation (DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996). This situation in the literature on diversity renders it difficult to reach empirically substantiated conclusions on the impact of diversity on business performance. Hence, workforce diversity is being treated by the proponents of diversity management as a magic formula that would automatically provide the employers with a competitive edge (Cox 1991, 1993; Cox and Blake 1991; Thomas 1990). Ironically, the most important business motive for the companies in the UK to adopt diversity management policies continues

to be the legal compliance concerns (Tatli et al. 2006a; Tatli and Özbilgin forthcoming 2008a). Diversity management literature is populated with examples of ‘best practice’ diversity management policies and programmes, which are driven by discrimination litigations. However, it is still important to revisit the business case propositions made in the literature since these propositions uncover the philosophical foundations of diversity management approach.

What appears striking in the business case rhetoric for diversity management is the focus on employers’ interest as opposed to equal opportunities approach’s focus on the interest of employees. Critics of diversity management argue that diversity management is a new right response to the ‘political correctness’ lobby of liberal policies and that it attempts to depoliticise the gender and racial conflicts in the organisations (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000; Prasad and Mills 1997). Thus, it is not surprising that employers feel more comfortable with the diversity management approach emphasising the business case rather than ethical values of equality and justice (Lorbiecki 2001). Business case rhetoric for diversity management is built upon the treatment of employees as assets and workforce diversity as an added value providing the organisations with a competitive edge (Liff 1996). So, it seems that in the diversity management literature employees’ interests are an issue of consideration as long as they contribute to business outcomes. In contrast to the association of equal opportunities approach’s with traditional industrial relations framework, diversity management approach fits well to the HRM perspective.

Industrial relations perspective of managing labour is based on the conception of workforce as a collective and stresses the role of trade unions for representing workers’ interests. Although trade unions are important actors in fighting inequality and discrimination, their one-sided approach based on the experience of white male employees as the ‘norm’ may prevent them from effectively tackling the issue of different forms of discrimination, which is experienced by different social groups other than white males (Kirton 1999; Kirton and Greene 2000). Nevertheless, it is important to note that recent years witnessed an increasing activity within trade unions in the UK in order to tackle discriminatory and exclusionary union practices and structures (Bradley 1994; Bradley et al. 2002; Colgan and Ledwith 1996b; Healy et al. 2004ab). Conversely, a HRM perspective treats employees as individuals rather than part of collectives and emphasises involvement, commitment and loyalty (Liff 1996). In turn, diversity management approach adopts a top-down orientation when dealing with

equality and situates employees mainly as the receivers of the policies that are initiated, designed and approved by the senior management.

Perrons and Skyers (2003: 265) noting the rising popularity of concepts such as inclusion, participation and diversity in the academic circles in urban and regional studies, state that “recognising and valuing diversity by genuinely giving people influence in their decisions affecting their future is a crucial prerequisite for finding solutions that reflect their needs and moving towards a fairer and more just society”. However, the authors are not convinced about the possibility of achieving such a democracy and inclusion in terms of discursive and material practices. The same dilemma is also evident in the field of diversity management. Considering that managing diversity is hegemonically associated with a top-down approach, even some level of discursive inclusion seems unlikely, let alone the inclusion of employees in the making of decisions that affect their material conditions. Then, it is ambiguous how diversity management policies, which are based on the idea of individualistic career development strategies rather than collective action and bargaining, will provide all employees, not only a small number of individual members of minority groups from disadvantaged groups, with the means of empowerment.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, empirical research displays contrasting results on benefits of diversity for business success. This situation suggests that the business case for diversity will be valid in some organisations and more importantly, for only some categories of employees. In contrast to the cheerful welcoming and celebration of various differences between the employees, diversity management literature keeps silent about social class differences in the workplace (e.g. Cox and Blake 1991; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Kandola and Fullerton 1998; Thomas 1990). The disappearance, or, at best, marginalisation of social class in equality and diversity research, and sociological analysis should be received with caution as class is a key cross-cutting category, which is intertwined into all other forms of difference (Bradley and Hebson 1999).

The rhetoric of business case for diversity management is implicitly based on the idea of professional employees as the ‘norm’. The basic idea is that employees will benefit from diversity management policies and in turn will add value to their organisations through increased organisational attachment, flexibility, problem solving capacity, creativity and innovation. However, such business case arguments may fail to present any justification to employers for workforce diversity in the case of non-professional or

unskilled employees since their job may not require them to add value to the organisation by being 'creative' or 'innovative' in which case diversity will cease to be an 'asset'. Moreover, the diversity management rhetoric is centred on the 'core' workforce while trends towards flexibility lead to an increase in the number of temporary employees within the internal workforces of the companies. The question, then, is while the trends in the labour market puts the most disadvantaged to a worse situation, whether diversity management approaches marginalise them even more by stressing the experience of professional and skilled workers in the core workforce both while justifying the need for workforce diversity, and offering new policies. I will return to the class bias in diversity management approaches, which focus on professional and white collar workers, in Chapter Ten, where I analyse the organisational diversity management policies, practices and structures of Ford Motor Company.

Revisiting the two main pillars of diversity management approach, individually based definition of diversity and business case arguments, shows that works of both advocates and critics of diversity management depicts diversity management and equal opportunities approaches in the opposing poles. However, it is more realistic to understand these two extremes, to use Weber's phrase, as *ideal types*. In practice, the two approaches display more similarities than is pictured in that ideal-typical framework with differences being less clear cut.

Business case arguments have been used in equal opportunities frameworks even before the development of managing diversity approach (Lawrence 2000; Parker 1999; Perrons 1995). Despite the emphasis of individually based differences in the policies, diversity programmes, which are designed to implement these policies are most of the time based on group-based differences and pertain high resemblance to equal opportunities initiatives and programmes. Liff (1996: 22) commenting on the review of the diversity policies of 300 organisations in the UK by Kandola and Fullerton argues that "of their list of the ten most frequently implemented diversity initiatives, the top three include the words of equal opportunities and four others are explicitly targeted at social groups". Thus, a more cautious attitude is required regarding the extent to which differences in the discourse are translated to the differences in practice.

In the face of rising popularity of diversity management perspective, the issue for the academic researchers needs to be uncovering the diversity management rhetoric and understanding the process of diversity management and its impact on discrimination in

the workplace rather than making a moral choice between equal opportunities and managing diversity approaches. As Liff (1996) and Kirton and Greene (2000) state integration of equal opportunities and diversity management approaches, rather than presenting them as opposing philosophies, may be the way forward in combating discrimination in the field of employment.

As pointed out earlier, the main promise of diversity management in enhancing equality lies in the emphasis of achieving cultural change in organisations, an area that is ignored by the formal equal opportunities policies. The question that needs to be answered is to what extent diversity management programmes, which are embedded in the dominant business case argument, are capable of and sincere about achieving such a change. Unfortunately, despite the frequent reference made to the change dimension of diversity management in both academic works and anecdotes from the practitioners, there is scant empirical evidence that explores what lies behind the change rhetoric, what is actually meant by change, which areas are covered by the objective of organisational change, and what kind of programmes and initiatives are in place to start and sustain the change process.

Any attempt to answer these questions regarding the nature and scope of the change begs for an investigation of the interplay of wider socio-economic forces and organisational dynamics as well as an exploration of the agency of diversity managers who are among key actors in the diversity management process due to their professed role. The field work of this thesis attends to these critical omissions in the literature by examining the discourse of diversity management in its situated context, and reveals the role of diversity management and the person of the diversity officers as embedded in meso-organisational and macro-social contexts.

2.5 Conclusion

Understanding the agency of diversity managers requires uncovering the academic and practitioner rhetoric webbed around the concept of diversity management as well as investigation of the interplay of wider socio-economic forces and organisational dynamics as they impact upon the diversity managers' agency. Accordingly, the diversity management debate has been critically revisited in this chapter.

The chapter has started with a brief account of the EU's equal opportunities approach and an examination of the factors related to the business environment, which were used

by mainstream diversity scholars to justify necessity of diversity management. This has been followed by an exploration of the business case for diversity in the mainstream diversity management literature. In this section, limitations of this literature as well as the contradictory evidence, which suggests disadvantages of workforce diversity, have been explored. Finally, I have discussed the two pillars of the diversity management approach, which are the definition of diversity on the basis of individual differences, and business case arguments at a more theoretical level. This last section of the chapter also provided a critique of the false dichotomy of diversity management and equal opportunities, which is commonly held in the literature, and questioned in what ways diversity management approach differs from equal opportunities approach. The issues discussed in this chapter including the business case argument, individual-based understanding of diversity and the differences and similarities between diversity management and equal opportunities approaches are further elaborated in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

In order to address one of the significant omissions in the extant literature on diversity management, that is, the lack of attention to the role of diversity managers, the next chapter reviews the literature on change agency with the aim of finding theoretical leads to conceptualise diversity managers' agency in its organisational context.

Chapter Three

Organisational Change and the Agency of Diversity Managers

3.1 Introduction

Despite the rising popularity of diversity management in industry coupled with an increasing amount of management research on the issue, a review of the literature suggests that research on diversity managers as a professional group of workers and organisational change agents is neglected. Diversity management process is associated with organisational change in the literature (Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Mighty 1991). Thus, it is possible to suggest that diversity managers seek to assume the role of change agents in their organisations.

However, it should be noted that the role of diversity managers may vary across different organisational settings depending on the motivation behind diversity management policies and programmes. Arguably, diversity managers may be positioned in their organisations simply in order to defend the status-quo, and may act as protection officers, rather than as change agents. The analysis chapters of this thesis include a discussion of the factors, which shape the organisational role of diversity managers as well as their power and resources. Nevertheless, this chapter reviews the change agency literature in search for a theoretical framework to understand diversity managers as organisational actors, whose role may involve change agency.

3.2 Literature on diversity managers and equal opportunities officers

Diversity managers are the most visible actors in the process of managing diversity due to their key role in the design and implementation of the diversity management policies and programmes. Interestingly, in the field of diversity research there is a wide lack of interest in the agency of diversity managers with only references on the experiences of diversity managers being in the form of personal accounts and anecdotes (e.g. Brimm and Arora 2001; Jones et al. 1989; Todd 2002). DiTomaso and Hooijberg (1996) after reviewing the diversity literature, also note the lack of works exploring agency within the scope of diversity management process.

Ironically, this situation also holds true for the equal opportunities field which is a longer established area of research, and in which there has been little interest in

investigation of individual officers and managers of equal opportunities and their individual role in transforming organisations. In other words, “equal opportunities officers are an occupational group whose work has largely been neglected as a subject for academic research” (Lawrence 2000: 382). There is one book specifically on equal opportunities officers by Kandola et al. (1991), titled *Equal Opportunities can Damage your Health: Stress amongst Equal Opportunities Personnel*, which reveals that equal opportunities officers suffer greater levels of job related stress than their peers, and a PhD thesis on the impact of equal opportunities officers on the culture of universities in Australia (Burrett 2002). In her research, Burrett (2002) found that organisational change is a highly political process. Accordingly, equal opportunities officers’ impact on organisational culture depends on a number of factors ranging from their individual communication and interpersonal skills, and seniority of their position to the university system and societal context.

In addition to these two studies, the literature survey revealed that there are two empirically based published research articles focusing specifically on equal employment opportunities officers one of which with a more specific focus on the experience of EEO officers in the field of sexual harassment policy. The first one of these is the study by Lawrence (2000) which reports on interviews conducted with 30 equal opportunities officers from public and private sectors in the UK. Lawrence (2000) collected data on process of recruitment, knowledge and expertise, perspectives towards equal opportunities, strategies for tackling organisational change in the case of equal opportunities officers.

She found that the concept of human rights underpins the perspectives of equal opportunities officers and their approaches to organisational change suggest the presence of a long agenda, as defined by Cockburn (1989). Furthermore, the study revealed that senior management support for equality objectives and seniority of equality officers as well as their personal traits such as patience, persistence and resilience; knowledge of legislation, industrial relations and HRM procedures are among the decisive factors for the legitimacy and influence of equal opportunities officers in engendering change within their organisations (Lawrence 2000). The author concludes by pointing out the need for further research on equal opportunities officers as an occupational group to examine their role and effectiveness in implementing policy changes.

The second study (Parker 1999) is based on interviews with 12 equal opportunities officers who produced best practice sexual harassment policies in Australia's financial services sector. The article presents insights into the dual strategies used and dual identities held by the best practice equal opportunities officers to initiate or support change initiatives in their organisations. Parker (1999: 34) states that as 'double dealers', equal opportunities officers based their strategies on comfortably slipping between public values of equality and justice, and private concerns of business and profits, as well as between their own dual personal commitment to public ethical norms and private corporate duties.

In addition to the works mentioned above, which are directly related to the equal opportunities officers, it is possible to pinpoint other remarkable works in the field of equal opportunities that may provide important insights into the nature of equal opportunity officers' job. However, the focus of these studies is not primarily on equality and diversity officers as change agents. For instance, as discussed earlier, Jewson and Mason (1986) distinguish liberal and radical approaches to equal opportunities. The distinction between these two approaches may be instrumental when investigating the equality values and ethics of diversity managers as well as their strategic planning and implementation of change programmes.

Similarly, Cockburn's (1989: 214-215) concepts of 'short agenda' and 'long agenda' may potentially offer insights into the change perspectives and strategies of diversity and equality officers. In her research monograph, *In the way of women: Men's resistance to sex equality in organisations*, Cockburn (1991) also includes narrations of the stories of the equality officers in her case study organisations. These stories reveal that against the backdrop of heterosexist, patriarchal, and capitalist culture, the role of equality officers involves a great deal of strategic manipulation of the organisational rules and power relations among organisational actors such as minority and majority group employees, unions, middle and senior management. There is also an edited book by Shaw and Perrons (1995), on managing equal opportunities. The first part of the book is a collection of scholarly articles which draw socio-economic, legal and cultural contexts of gender work. In the second part the practice of equal opportunities work is brought under focus through articles by practitioners in the field.

Unfortunately, similar research on diversity managers is lacking. In the absence of research on diversity managers, it seemed appropriate to consult the literature on change

agents, since the process of diversity management is often associated with organisational change (Dobbs 1996; Mighty 1991). On the basis of his definition of diversity management as a planned change process, Dobbs (1996: 362) argues that diversity managers or human resource managers must assume the role of change agents who “have knowledge of the planned change process and assume responsibility for facilitating the process in collaboration with top management”. Thus, I now turn to the literature on change agency in pursuit of clues to understand diversity managers’ agency in the process of organisational change. Thus, I first summarise the major approaches and models in this literature. Then I discuss the limitations of change agency literature with a view to explore the suitability of that literature to offering a framework for understanding the agency of diversity managers.

3.3 Different conceptualisations of organisational change agency in the literature

A review of the literature reveals the existence of several competing models of change agency. The origins of the literature on change agents date back to the seminal work of Lewin (1951), on whose ideas also the action research tradition has been established. Until the 1980s the work on change agency has been confined within the limits of organisational development (OD) research inspired by the work of Lewin (Caldwell 2003). Within that tradition the conception of change was that of ‘planned change’, and the change agency role was associated with ‘unbiased’ external or internal consultants, who would have counselling, consensus building, listening, coaching and facilitating skills (Beckhard 1969). Caldwell (2003) notes that OD models of change agency underplay of vested interests and power relations, overlook manipulative and unconscious aspects of group processes, downplay the change role of employees due to an overwhelming focus on senior management, and assume that organisational change is a linear and rational process.

In the 1980s, associated with the rhetoric of flexible organisation, a new stream of literature has begun to grow outside of the OD tradition (Kanter 1984, 1999). The buzz words of that new literature of change agency were ‘change master’, ‘charismatic leader’ and ‘transformational leader’. Within that stream of thought, senior managers were positioned as the core change agents. Change agency formulations in this literature are fed by leadership research and the role and skills of change agents has become almost identical with that of charismatic leaders. Resultantly, personal and inherent qualities including courage, empathy, openness, ability to take risk, flexibility, personal

drive, the desire to lead, honesty and integrity, cognitive ability, self-confidence, are associated with change agency (Dulewicz and Herbert 2000; Kirkpatrick and Locke 1991). This approach, which relates organisational change to a single individual, who is gifted with some extraordinary qualities is criticised by some scholars, as it set unrealistic expectations around and over-dependency on change agents (Caldwell 2003; Nadler and Tushman 1990).

Against the change leader approach, the contingency perspective argues that there is not a universal and standard formula for change agency, and that change agency is contingent upon business and organisational environment (Dunphy and Stace 1993). For instance, Nadler and Tushman (1990) argue that there is not one single type of organisational change or leadership. According to the authors each different type of change requires different types of leadership styles. In order to complement charismatic leadership, Nadler and Tushman (1990:85) propose ‘instrumental leadership’, whose role will be to build teams and to bring a structure to the change process. Although contingency perspective is based on a critique of ‘charismatic leader’ approach, it suffers from similar limitations since it too is centred on the idea of individual leader as the focal point of organisational change process (Westley and Mintzberg 1989).

Caldwell (2003) sums up different versions of change agency that exist in the literature under four general models: leadership, management, consultancy and team models. He defines change agents as “an internal or external individual or team responsible for initiating, sponsoring, directing, managing or implementing a specific change initiative, project or complete change programme” (Caldwell 2003: 140). In the leadership models of change agency, change agents are the leaders at the very top level of the organisation, whereas in the management models middle level managers and functional specialists assume the role of change agency. In consultancy models, change agency is associated with external or internal consultants who facilitate change by using their expertise and professional skills. Lastly, in the team models role of change agents are teams that may be composed of managers, functional specialists and consultants. He criticises the tendency in the research on change agency to identify the change agent’s role with one of these models while ignoring the possible contribution of other models.

Tichy (1974) proposes another model of change agency on the basis of the interplay between the role assumed by change agents, their personal values and life projects. On the basis of the survey of 91 change agents, he formulates what he calls *change agents’*

general change model. The model covers three components: value component, i.e. change agents' value orientation towards social change; cognitive component, i.e. change agents' knowledge about the means of affecting change; and change technologies, i.e. tools and skills that are available to change agents to affect social change. Tichy (1974) looks at the congruence between values, cognition and actions. His model widens the scope of change agency research by incorporating values and cognitions of change agents. Agents' cognitions and values about change are important because they influence the content, timing, sequencing and process of organisational change (Huy 2001). In addition, the model sheds light on some possible sites of self-contradiction for change agents. Another strand in the literature focuses on the tempo of change for understanding change agency. As Meyerson (2001b: 94) points out change can take place primarily in two ways in organisations:

through drastic action or through evolutionary adaptation. In the former case, change is discontinuous and often forced on the organisation or mandated by top management in the wake of major technological innovations, by a scarcity or abundance of critical resources, or by sudden changes in the regulatory, legal, competitive or political landscape. Under such circumstances, change may happen quickly and often involves significant pain. Evolutionary change, by contrast, is gentle, incremental, decentralised, and over time produces a broad and lasting shift with less upheaval.

Weick and Quinn (1999) define two types of change corresponding to different tempos of the process: episodic or radical change which is short-term, discontinuous and intermittent; and continuous change which is long-term, incremental and evolving. The continuous change takes place in a longer period of time in comparison to the episodic change since it refers to a change in culture whilst the latter deals with changing formal structures (Bartunek 1984). According to Weick and Quinn's (1999: 380) dual change model, in episodic change, change agents assume a proactive role as 'prime movers' in the process which is governed by the 'logic of replacement'. In continuous change, which is associated with 'logic of attraction', change agents are located as facilitators. These two different types of change agents are associated with transactional and transformational leadership respectively. The role of transformational leaders is to trigger a change in the organisational members' value systems, whereas transactional leaders concentrate on establishing a compliance with change at the level of employees' attitudes and behaviours (Bass 1995).

Focusing on continuous change process, Munduate and Gravenhorst (2003: 6) note that there are three possible reactions to change process by change targets: public

compliance, private acceptance or identification and internalisation. They identify six bases of power for change agents, i.e. reward, coercion, legitimacy, expertise, reference and information, and each of these elicits a different reaction by organisational members. The use of reward and coercion as power bases leads merely to public compliance leaving the value systems of the targets intact. In this case endurance of change will depend on continuous surveillance of the target by the change agent. On the other hand use of legitimacy (belief in the legitimate right of the change agent to exert influence on target), reference (the situation where target identifies himself or herself with the change agent) and expertise (target's perception of the change agent as having expertise in the area) as power bases leads to private acceptance on behalf of the target. In those cases, surveillance by the change agent is not required for the continuation of change, but the change process becomes socially dependent on the change agent. The only base of power which creates a sustained change independent of surveillance by and presence of a change agent is information as it leads to an internalised cognitive change in change targets' beliefs, attitude and values.

The model of power bases of change agents proposed by Munduate and Gravenhorst (2003) offers an original approach for understanding the impact of change leadership style on organisational members. However, overemphasis of change targets' individual beliefs, behaviours and attitudes and focus on relationship between change agents and change targets as the basis of the evaluation of the success of the change process renders the model deficient in explaining more structural dimensions of change. For instance, neglecting any reference to organisational culture which is more than the sum of the actions, values, attitudes or beliefs that are held by the individual organisational members, the model proposes oversimplified notions of change and power bases of change agents. Moreover, the assumption of the change agent as a rational decision maker, which was implicit in the previous research on change agency, here becomes explicit with the presentation of the change agent as a leader who utilise the power bases he or she has on the basis of rational cost-benefit calculations.

Another model of change agency is proposed by Huy (2001). Focusing on the planned change process, he constructs a model exploring two dimensions of organisational change: time and content. Four ideal types of intervention that come out of the time-content matrix of change are commanding, engineering, teaching and socialising each corresponding to a change in different spheres of organisation, that is in formal structures, work processes, beliefs and social relationships respectively. Huy (2001)

identifies the necessity enacting of multiple intervention ideal types throughout large scale change since the process involves transformation at multiple organisational areas. Accordingly, he notes, change agents need to be capable “to comprehend seemingly opposite temporal conceptions about change and dimensions; to discriminate among them; and to use this information to guide their thinking and action, including enacting multiple intervention types” (Huy 2001: 610).

Huy’s model contributes to the debate on the role of change agents through a discussion of various personal competencies and styles of leadership, which are required for intervening different aspects of organisations. Nevertheless, the model still shares the mainstream change agency tradition’s myopic tendency to limit the study of subject to the construction of ‘ideal types’ and assignment of some trait and competency requirements to change agents. For instance, although Huy (2001: 608) points out that in the case of the socialising intervention type, “social relations in change contexts involve emotions as well as concerns about power and politics”, there is no further discussion of the political nature of change agency or analysis of the power relations embedded in the change process.

Another work on change agency that deserves to be mentioned here is Muir’s (1996) system readiness approach. He attempts to situate the change process in the external macro-environmental situation and internal organisational context. Muir (1996: 480) describes change agents as “those people who will be primarily responsible for influencing change in the organisation” and he adds that they “should be selected according to their authority and their ability to effectively communicate change to other employees”. Muir’s work claims to acknowledge the role of external and internal contextual factors in the change process. Interestingly, change agents are again depicted as de-contextualised individuals with some skill and ability requirements. For instance there is no discussion of the specific contextual factors, which provide change agents with authority and make effective communication possible. Furthermore, similar to most of the literature on change agency with some exceptions, e.g. Tichy (1974), the discussion is not based on empirical evidence but rather relies on some implicit assumptions on organisational change.

3.3.1 Limitations of the change agency literature

The review of the literature revealed an over-fragmented research area crowded with various disconnected works, each piece focusing on a specific aspect of the

phenomenon without articulating it in the totality of the subject or situating it in a wider theoretical framework of change agency. As noted by Huy (2001: 601) “Although prescriptions for change intervention abound, scholars continue to lament that the literature on the management of change has been largely atheoretical and fragmented”. In addition to the lack of theoretical rigour, the works in the field also suffer from the lack of empirical grounding. Most of the works are examples of predominantly prescriptive models of change agency established on scientifically vulnerable theoretical and empirical bases. In addition to this general flaw, the change agency literature suffers from three considerable limitations related to, first, the ontological status of change agents; second, neglect of contextual analysis by focusing on change agents’ competency and traits; and third, lack of consideration of power dynamics in the organisational change process (for examples of classical works that display these limitations see Bass 1995; Dulewicz and Herbert 2000; Kirkpatrick and Locke 1991; Tichy 1974; Weick and Quinn 1999).

Ontologically, change agents are conceptualised as rational and autonomous individuals. Literature is crowded with romanticised and moralistic accounts of change agents as charismatic heroes. Correspondingly, the level of exploration of change agency is overwhelmingly reduced to that of psychological. Caldwell (2003), in his critical review of change agency literature, asserts that the inclination to associate change agents with extraordinary qualities, traits and attributes, endures in different models of change agency. Most of the time, the individualistic accounts of change agency also inspire the understanding of organisational change or vice versa, e.g. relating the success of the change process to personal qualities of change agents. Furnham’s (2002) approach is a good illustration of the romantic and individualistic tendency in the literature. Claiming that organisational change is a psychological issue, he argues that success of change programmes depends on the change agents’ level of courage. Such an approach demonstrates a naïve and individualised perception of change agency based on a short-sighted de-contextualisation of human agency.

Related to the above ontological assumption, a second limitation of change agency models is concerned with the omission of contextual analysis and excessive focus on change agents’ competency and traits, which then leads to inflation of prescriptive work that offers recipes for success. Consequently, the literature is packed with series of presumably universal lists of competencies and skills for change agents. These lists sometimes include skills in specific areas such as forecasting, anticipating, counselling, consensus building, listening, coaching and facilitating (Bass 1995; Beckhard 1969; Weick and Quinn 1999) or more professional competencies such as being trained in

work process analysis, process consultancy or organisational development training (Huy 2001; Tichy 1974). In other times, some personal traits such as the desire to lead, honesty and integrity, cognitive ability, problem solving, self-confidence, expertise, information and flexibility and risk taking are listed (Dulewicz and Herbert 2000; Kanter 1984, 1999; Kirkpatrick and Locke 1991; Munduate and Gravenhorst 2003). Still, some others include interpersonal skills such as team-building, negotiation, authority, effective communication, building trust, being sympathetic, and competency in interpersonal inquiry in their list of requirements (Buchanan and Boddy 1992; Huy 2001; Muir 1996). Hence, most of the works attempt to present blueprint models of change agency in the form of advice and guidelines. Although they can be useful from the practitioners' point of view, they add up to an unsatisfactory attempt of scientific inquiry due to the lack of an empirically founded and multilayered analysis of change agency.

The role of change agents is not limited to the publicly visible activities associated with the seemingly rational and linear change process on which the prescriptive models in the literature are based on; but more importantly it involves what Buchanan and Boddy (1992) call 'backstage activities'. The activities of change agent involve bargaining and negotiation with different interest groups in the organisation. Unfortunately, this publicly covert and inherently political dimension of change management is often ignored in the change agency research. Resultantly, the third limitation of the change agency literature rests on the tendency to overlook power dynamics in the organisational change process. Meyerson and Scully (1995: 594-5) criticise the depoliticised notions of change and change agents in the organisational studies:

Change agents in organisational literature generally do not have broader visions of change in mind. Although terms like 'revolutionary' and 'deep' are sometimes used to describe change, those terms rarely refer to system change that challenges the embedded assumptions of the status quo.

Owing to the implicit assumption of change agent as apolitical, disembodied, autonomous, rational decision makers, the change agency literature is preoccupied with describing the competencies and traits of change agents, rather than situating their agency within the framework of organisational politics and power relations.

3.3.2 Alternative approaches to organisational change agency

The mainstream change agency literature overlooks the political nature of organisational change process and over-simplifies the role and capacity of change agents in their organisations. However, there is a stream of scholars including Bradley (1999), Acker

(2006) and Healy and Kirton (2000), who deal with power, with respect to management, trade unions and individual women and men in organisations. Whilst these works do not deal with change agents *per se*, arguably all organisational actors have some element of change agency in their role. Furthermore, the political nature of the change process and the contradictory status of change agents are also acknowledged by critical approaches to organisational change (Acker 2000; Collinson et al. 1990; Lawrence 2000).

Agocs (1997) maintains that organisational change is political in that the exercise of power and control by different parties involved is central in the process. Thus, change agents may need to confront institutionalised resistance by the power holders in their organisations. Interestingly, prescriptive models of change agency, which dominate the literature, are designated as tools for dealing with the resistance from middle or lower ranks, not from the higher echelons of the organisation. This lack of consideration for potential resistance by power holders is an outcome of the blindness towards the organisational power dynamics. Against the mainstream literature on change agency, which focuses on skills and competencies of change agents, Agocs (1997) claims that not knowledge and expertise of change agents in itself, but the legitimacy accorded to the change message by the organisational authorities is the determinant of change agents' ability to initiate and implement organisational change.

Agocs (1997: 918) argues that institutionalised resistance to change "is embedded in and expressed through organisational structures and processes of legitimisation, decision making and resource allocation". Situating the change agents within the power matrix of the organisation, she turns her attention to micro politics of interpersonal relations as potential power sources for the change agents. According to Agocs (1997: 929), six potential strategies for change agents are: (1) to resist; (2) to create allies; (3) to make a case for change; (4) to make effective use of existing resources; (5) to mobilise politically by seeking progressive legislation, and gaining support of external agents"; and (6) to build new parallel organisations. Thus, Agocs offers a politicised notion of change agency as opposed to the abstract idea of agency dominating the mainstream literature. However, in that article where she aims to 'assist change advocates' by offering strategies to struggle with institutionalised resistance, Agocs does not provide a comprehensive contextual analysis of change agency.

Similarly, Newman (1995) and Itzin (1995a) refer to the relational dimension of organisational change and importance of the political process of persuading the power

holders in the organisation regarding the necessity of change. Newman (1995: 280) stresses that effectiveness of change agents relies not only on managerial activities but also on political activities which include ‘making connections’ with political sites and actors outside of and within the organisation.

Acker (2000) notes that incongruence between the interests of various groups in the organisation and lack of support by power holders may undermine the change efforts. In such cases, she argues, change agents need to mobilise employees to achieve changes that challenge status-quo. Acker’s (2000) research on gender equity intervention projects shows that competencies of change agents is one among many factors that affect the outcome of the change process. On the other hand, research by Healy et al. (2004a) demonstrates the multiplicity of change agents in organisational context. Exploring the experiences of women trade union activists from BME backgrounds, the authors note that trade unions have a key role to play in driving cultural and structural change in organisations.

Another original contribution to change agency literature in the recent years has been Meyerson’s (2001a) work, which introduced “a fundamentally different type of change agent than the protagonists of these other literatures” (Meyerson and Scully 1995: 598). This new type of change agents is called ‘tempered radicals’ who are both the insiders and the outsiders to the organisation due to the conflict of their personal values with the dominant organisational culture (Meyerson 2001a: xi). The term is defined by Meyerson and Scully (1995: 586) as follows:

The individuals who identified with and are committed to their organisation, and are also committed to a cause, community or ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of their organisation.

Being an insider in the organisation equips tempered radicals with the information about the organisational system and with the ability to act confidently within that familiar system (Meyerson and Scully 1995: 596). Moreover, tempered radicals are aware of the importance of gaining allies among those representing the majority perspective which will provide them with “a sense of legitimacy, access to resources and contacts, technical and task assistance, emotional support, and advice” (Meyerson 2001b: 99). This new understanding of change agency does not only acknowledge the context of power relations, within which change agency take place, but also examine the strategic

power sources of change agents, which are shaped by their life stories and which they may exploit in order to mould and promote change.

Another work that provides an alternative perspective to organisational change and agency is an edited book by Ledwith and Colgan (1996), *Women and organisations: challenging gender politics*, which is a collection of empirical studies from different sectors. Throughout the book, strategies used by women to challenge the status-quo and gender order in their organisations are explored. Colgan and Ledwith (1996a: 30-31) argue that women as change agents need to have political skills and to be aware of the organisational power relations. Neither of the works mentioned in this section focus on diversity managers or a specific functional category in organisations, but conceptualise change agency as a quality which is rather dispersed across different levels of organisation. Nevertheless, they provide critical insights for understanding the agency of diversity managers.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first reviewed the literature on change agency, and then critically discussed the limitations of this literature. The review of the literature demonstrates that there is a serious lack of academic attention to the research of diversity managers as members of an occupational group and as agents of organisational change. Furthermore, change agency literature displays several weaknesses due to ontological and methodological shortcomings. The limitations displayed in the mainstream change agency literature are: (i) the ontological status of change agents as rational and autonomous individuals; (ii) neglect of contextual analysis by focusing on change agents' competency and traits; and (iii) lack of consideration of power dynamics in the organisational change process.

Against such an individualistic framing of change agency in the mainstream literature, this thesis is based on an understanding of the agency of diversity managers as situated within the power matrix of the organisation and society. In this study, in order to overcome the common pitfalls in the change agency literature, diversity managers are conceptualised as organisational actors whose actions and decisions, as well as resources and constraints are shaped by macro-social, meso-organisational, and micro-individual influences. Addressing the limitations of the mainstream change agency literature and drawing on critical studies, which were reviewed in the last section, I

propose a relational and multi-level framework for understanding the agency of diversity managers in the next chapter. Thus, the aim in the next chapter is to avoid the traditional practice of offering another prescriptive model of change agency, but to suggest an analytical framework, which is employable in empirical research, and which addresses the relational and multi-layered nature of diversity managers' agency as well as its embeddedness in relations of power and domination.

Chapter Four

Understanding Diversity Managers' Agency: An Analytical Framework

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, attending to the implicit assumptions made in both models of change agency in organisational literature and anecdotes from diversity managers in the prescriptive literature (e.g. Esty et al. 1995; Golembiewski 1995; Kessler 1990; Kossek and Lobel 1996; Loden and Rosener 1991; Thomas 1991; Weiss 1996) alike, would lead to a notion of diversity managers as autonomous individuals, who are to a large extent responsible for the success or failure of the diversity management initiatives and programmes. Moreover, within the scope of that understanding, diversity management processes in organisations would be bound up with the convenience and timing of the strategies and actions of diversity managers who are equipped with some abstract competencies and traits and whose actions are determined by the principle of rationality and free will. In this chapter, an argument is made against such individualistic accounts of agency on the basis of the assumption that both the process of organisational change and the role of change agents are much more complicated than they are depicted in that literature. Accordingly, an alternative analytical framework that embeds both agentic and structural mechanisms is presented for investigating diversity managers' agency.

4.2 A multilevel relational framework of diversity managers' agency

The framework offered here is a relational one which explores the agency of diversity managers at three interrelated levels, that is, macro, meso and micro levels. In this respect, I find the Bourdieu's conceptual framework very appropriate for the study of diversity managers' agency. The potential relevance and contribution of Bourdieu's theoretical framework to management and organisational studies is also cited elsewhere (Everett 2002; Özbilgin and Tatli 2005). Bourdieu's whole work can be defined as one big project of developing an alternative to the analytical dualism between structure and agency dominating the social scientific endeavour. Nash (2003: 49) notes:

Seeking to avoid the polarities of structuralist determinism and phenomenological individualism, Bourdieu attempts to construct a new theory of practice in which the sterile opposition of the old debate (conscious/unconscious, explanation by cause/explanation by reason, mechanical submission to social constraints/rational and strategic calculation, individual/society and so on) can be transcended.

Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1987, 1990ab, 1998a) used three concepts, field, *habitus* and capital as the building blocks of his theory of human agency which is generated through situated relationality between different levels of social reality. Bourdieu's effort to overcome the traditional dualism of agentic versus structural approaches has parallels with that of Giddens (1984) in the Anglo-Saxon tradition (also Archer 1995; Layder 1993, 1994, 1998). Similar to Bourdieu, Giddens (1984) also proposed an alternative theoretical framework to investigate the complex and interwoven nature of social reality, through his theory of structuration, which purports that the social structures and human agency and action co-evolve by reaffirming and reconstituting one another.

However, Bourdieuan formulation of *habitus*, capital and field offers greater explanatory power in revealing the role of individual agency in the process of social and institutional change. Although the structuration theory suggests that structural changes result from changes in repetitive forms of individual and collective acts, Bourdieu has gone further to explain the kinds of varied resources (capitals) that individuals draw on in order to enact their strategies and how their strategies are both negotiated in and shaped by the logic of the field, i.e. the social structures, which in turn is altered through enactments of human agency. As Wainwright (2000: 10) points out, "Bourdieu links agency (practice) with structure (via capital and field) through the process of *habitus*". Bourdieu (1984: 101) illustrates this relationship in the following formula: "*habitus* x capital + field = practice".

Bourdieu was one of the most productive and imaginative thinkers of the last century as the author of over 30 books and over 300 papers and with his "capacity to shuttle between levels of abstraction, with ease and with clarity" which is stated, by Mills (1959: 43) in *Sociological Imagination*, as the defining feature of "an imaginative and systematic thinker". As stated earlier, Bourdieuan sociology sets out to overcome the dichotomy between structure and agency or individual and society. Bourdieu improved his theory of practice, of which he formed the foundations in *Outline of Theory of Practice* (1977), to excellence mainly through his two subsequent theoretical works *The Logic of Practice* (1990a), *Practical Reason: on the theory of action* (1998a). In these works, Bourdieu theoretically constructed his notion of human agency, using his three key concepts, field, *habitus* and capital, which form together the spatial and historical field of practice.

Bourdieu's insightful works has been praised by several social science scholars. To give a few examples, Lash (1993: 193) claims that Bourdieu's sociology is "not only the

best, but ... the only game in town". Similarly, Fowler (1997:13) argues that Bourdieu "has superseded various problems that have perennially plagued sociology as a critical social theory and that, at the present moment, this is the most original and cogent modelling of the social world that we have". However, Bourdieu is not without his critics. His conceptual framework has been criticised for being over-deterministic and for not accounting for change and transformation. Mohr (2000) offers a twofold critique of Bourdieu's model arguing that the model overlooks divergent dispositions that individuals may possess in choosing their respective social positions in the field, and that the social field is largely structured by macro influences. Vandenberghe (1999: 62) claims that Bourdieu "should open up his system, avoid deterministic descriptions of stable reproduction, and give voluntarism its due".

Conversely, Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000) state that the power of Bourdieu's framework lies in its ability to uncover interplay of agency and structure, and interdependencies between different forms of capital and social space. On a similar note, Lounsbury and Ventresca (2003) argue that Bourdieu's notion of field provides a systematic approach for researchers to explore structure and agency in a single framework. Bourdieu (2000: 148–149) himself explains the interplay of *habitus*, structure, and agency as follows:

Just as we should not say that a window broke because a stone hit it, but that it broke because it was breakable . . . one should not say that a historical event determined a behaviour but that it had this determining effect because a *habitus* capable of being affected by that event conferred that power upon it.

In that sense, Bourdieu's model does not offer deterministic causalities but explicates tendencies created by historical and social structures. Another critique of Bourdieu is made by Burkitt (2002: 220), who suggests that *habitus* is insufficient in making sense of "those moments when habits break down or when habits clash and the self is forced to reflexively monitor itself and the context in which it is acting in order to meaningfully reconstruct with others both self and situation". Similarly, Mutch (2003) thinks that, notwithstanding its capacity to explain reproduction, the concept of *habitus* has limited explanatory power when it comes to conceptualising and situating change.

However, Özbilgin and Tatli (2005) put forward that *habitus* and field are contested terrains in which actors compete for appropriation of different forms of capital, and that it is this very contested nature which opens up the possibility of continuous reproductive transformation of *habitus* and field, if not an abrupt and radical change of them.

Although the notion of *habitus* and field may seem to dictate a rigid and static order over actions of agents at first glance, what is central to Bourdieu's sociological endeavour is to explore the interplay between capitals, field, and *habitus*, which exist in interdependency and relationality with each other. Notwithstanding the fact that capitals are generated and legitimised by the logic of *habitus* and the field, equally, field and *habitus* owe their existence to the actions of individuals, who strategically deploy different forms of capital at their disposal.

Use of the concept of strategies further highlights the non-deterministic dimension of Bourdieu's model. In Bourdieu's framework, several strategies are employed by individuals whilst they compete for hegemony and ownership of capitals. Nash (2003) notes that the notion of strategy is another area, which blurs the boundaries between determinism and non-determinism. It was this power of the Bourdieuan model to dissolve false duality between agency and structure, which rendered it valuable and fruitful for the aims of this research. Having been employed as orienting concepts, Bourdieu's notions of field, *habitus*, capitals and strategies informed the analytical framework of this research in order to elaborate the three layers of social reality in which diversity managers pursue their jobs. These are macro, meso and micro levels respectively. Bourdieu himself uses a similar framework in his analysis. Robbins (1991: 91) summarises the three stages of analysis in Bourdieu's works:

First the analysis of the (Actors) in the structure or in relation to ruling class... secondly, an analysis of the structures of objective relations between the positions which the groups placed in a situation of competition for ... legitimacy occupy at a given moment in the structure of the ... field; and thirdly, the construction from these two variable context of the social trajectory of an individual or of a group and, further, construction of the 'habitus' which transforms an actual trajectory into future possible trajectories for other individuals.

Using his key concepts in a single framework, Bourdieu sets out "not simply to combine, articulate or join agency and structure but, more fundamentally, to dissolve the very distinction between these two seemingly antinomic viewpoints of social analysis" (Wacquant 1993: 3). Thus, in Bourdieuan analysis his three key notions, i.e. *habitus*, field and capitals, work together to generate social reality. Accordingly, this research is based on an understanding of Bourdieu's conceptual framework as an integral scheme. In effect, rather than focusing on one of his concepts and abstracting it from its relationship to other core concepts, I aim to interpret and use four Bourdieuan notions in a relational framework in order to explore diversity managers' agency. Table

1 illustrates my interpretation of Bourdieu’s four key concepts, i.e. field, *habitus*, capitals and strategies, and provides a summary of the use of these as orienting concepts for operationalising micro, meso and micro levels of diversity managers’ agency.

Table 1: Multi-level framework for the investigation of diversity managers’ agency

Levels	Orienting concepts	Operationalisation	Components
Macro – social level	Field	as situated in the network of fields cultural field institutional field business field	social regulation context, industrial relations, institutions, legislation, business environment, culture, labour market dynamics
		internal dynamics and logic of the field discourse practice professional identity	prevailing discourses; structural tendencies of practice; institutionalised structures of networks and professionalisation
Meso – organisational level	Organisational subfield	diversity management structures, activities, policies, programmes; integration	objective structures pertaining to the organisation, formal rules and procedures
	Organisational <i>habitus</i>	organisational history, organisational stories of diversity, incidents of discrimination, organisational culture	informal codes of action and interaction, organisational memory, history and culture
Micro-individual level	Different forms of capital and strategies	Social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital; strategic discourses and actions of diversity manager	dispositions formed through past experience, resources and constraints, status, power, strategies

Macro level corresponds to the societal level analysis and refers to the field of diversity management that embeds social regulations, industrial relations, legislation, institutions, business environment, social norms and values, and culture in their respective situated context. Internally, the field of diversity management has three main components: structured practices and discourses, and institutionalised mechanisms, which govern the positioning of individuals agents within the field. Meso level corresponds to the organisational level analysis and includes the organisational subfield and organisational *habitus*. The organisational subfield consists of the objective structural properties pertaining to the organisation. Here, organisation is conceptualised as the subfield of

society because it is embedded in the wider social field and is not autonomous from it. The organisational *habitus* denotes the organisational culture and organisational memory that governs the conduct of action and interaction in the organisation. Micro level corresponds to individual level analysis. It includes, the set of dispositions formed through past experience and socialisation that diversity managers bring to organisation; and the amount and forms of capital mobilised and the strategies employed by diversity managers when doing their jobs.

This framework provides a middle range model, which brings together macro, meso and micro levels of human agency, and allows explanations of interactions and interrelationships between the levels of individual and society. Accordingly, the framework aims to provide a conceptual model in order to empirically investigate the multi-level dynamics underlying the agency of diversity managers as real individuals in their economic and social setting rather than free-floating practitioners abstracted from their context. Inspired by Bourdieu, the framework conceptualises diversity managers not as all powerless puppets of the system, or as completely autonomous rational individuals. Instead, as the bearers of capital, diversity managers transform and reproduce the organisational context by employing several strategies. On the other hand, diversity managers' agency is situated within the context of the society and organisation in which they operate.

In other words, the field of diversity management, and the organisational subfield and *habitus* function as relational principles, which define power positions in the organisational context, and draw boundaries of diversity managers' actions. Hence, situating the diversity management practice within the context of the field of diversity management, and the subfield and *habitus* of organisations, all of which embed power relations at different levels and in different forms, provides a comprehensive and multi-layered understanding of the choices and constraints, which frame diversity managers' actions, decisions and strategies. Bourdieu urges for the necessity of simultaneous and interconnected investigation of objective and subjective dimensions of the research subject. He suggests:

(Individuals) exist as agents –and not as biological individuals, actors or subjects- who are socially constructed as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field... People are at once founded and legitimised to enter the field by their possessing a definite configuration of properties. One of the goals of the research is to identify these active

properties, these efficient characteristics, that is these forms of specific capital. There is thus a sort of hermeneutic circle: in order to construct the field, one must identify the forms of specific capital that operates within it, and to construct the forms of specific capital one must know the specific logic of the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 107-108).

In the next sections, following Bourdieu's line of argument, I, first, present a framework for exploring macro level influences on diversity managers' agency, i.e. the field of diversity management. Then, meso and micro levels of diversity managers' agency are conceptualised through organisational subfield and organisational *habitus*; and different forms of capital and strategies respectively.

4.2.1 Macro level: the field of diversity management

For Bourdieu, the social world is made-up of semi-autonomous, relational and multi-dimensional social spaces, what he calls fields. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that any social research inquiry should start by defining the field in which the phenomenon under investigation is situated. Jenkins (1992: 85) interprets the concept as follows:

(Field is) a structured system of social positions-occupied either by individuals or institutions- the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants. It is also a system of forces, which exist between these positions; a field is structured internally in terms of power relations. Positions stand in relationship of domination, subordination and equivalence to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the goods and resources (capital).

Notwithstanding its structured and objective nature, the field is not a static entity. On the contrary, it is dynamically generated and reproduced through power struggles between institutional or individual actors, who compete for appropriation of different forms of capital. Swartz (1997: 117) notes:

Fields denote arenas of production, circulation, and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolise these different kinds of capital. Fields may be thought of as structured spaces that are organised around specific types of capital or combinations of capital.

By integrating the concept of field into the exploration of diversity managers' agency, the analytical framework, which is provided here, acknowledges the structural aspects and power dynamics that generate this agency. In other words, any attempt to investigate the nature and boundaries of diversity managers' agency requires the

understanding of the logic of the macro-social field of diversity management, within which their actions take place. To do so, exploration of the diversity management field needs to involve attention to internal dynamics of that field as well as to the web of fields, within which it is situated.

4.2.1.1 Internal dynamics of the diversity management field

According to Bourdieu, fields are occupied by individual or institutional agents, and characterised by discourse and social activity (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Within that framework, analysis of the diversity management field needs to include exploration of prevailing discourses on managing diversity, structural tendencies of diversity management practice in a given sectoral or national context, and institutionalised structures of networks and professionalisation, which govern the entry of individual diversity managers into the field.

To start with, discourses are functional in sustaining and reproducing the governing logic of and social practice in fields. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 37) explain the interplay between discourse and practice, and ideological nature of discourse as follows: “practices are partly discursive, but they are also discursively represented. In so far as such representations help sustain relations of domination within practice, they are ideological”. Similarly, Bourdieu et al. (1994) in their analysis of academic discourse, demonstrate the role discourses play in reproducing and legitimising relations of power and dominance in the field.

The analysis of the diversity discourse is important not only because it will provide a better insight into the field of diversity management, but also because that very discourse provides legitimacy for organisational diversity management programmes and policies as well as being an important source of strategic action and power for diversity managers, who need to justify these programmes and policies. Kirton and Greene (2006) also acknowledge the necessity of attention to discursive practices in order to understand the context of managing diversity. Notwithstanding the importance of uncovering dominant discourses in order to make sense of a field, Bourdieu notes that discursive practices are but one dimension of social practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In fact, he poses a strong critique of theoreticist tendencies of postmodernist and deconstructionist approaches:

It is not sufficient to change language or theory to change reality... While it never does harm to point out that gender, nation, or ethnicity or race are social constructs, it is naïve, even dangerous, to suppose that one only has to “deconstruct” these social artefacts, in a purely performative performance of resistance, in order to destroy them (Bourdieu 2000: 108).

Bradley (1996: 9) also offers a similar perspective at the outset of her book *Fractured Identities: changing patterns of inequality*:

It would be nice if the social world were no more than a contestation, so that, merely by renaming the world, we could change it... This underestimates the multi-dimensionality of gendered power which has both cultural and material aspects.

Consequently, the investigation of a given field is incomplete, misleading and, even worse, politically dangerous if it is solely based on analysis of discursive practices in the field. What is more essential in order to define a field is to explore the material practices prevailing in the field. Thus, the second step in understanding the field of diversity management involves analysing the structural tendencies, which generate material diversity management practices at organisational level. This analysis needs to include exploration of macro level tendencies with regards to drivers, scope and nature of diversity management practices, as well as uncovering the interplay and gap between discourse and practice.

Finally, given the fact that fields are occupied by real individuals, it is essential to investigate the institutionalised dynamics, which generate the rules of legitimate entry into and positioning in the field. Within the scope of diversity managers’ agency, this involves understanding of structures of professionalisation and institutionalised professional identity of diversity managers. Such an understanding can be attained by exploring professional criteria and requirements, which govern the entry of individual diversity managers into the diversity management field, and by revealing general patterns in terms of power and position of diversity managers in their organisations. Notwithstanding these three internal components of the diversity management field, i.e. discourse, practice and institutionalised structured of professional identity, it should be noted that the diversity management field is influenced by other fields. The next section conceptualises the situatedness of the diversity management field within the wider network of fields.

4.2.1.2 The diversity management field as situated in the network of fields

For Bourdieu (1990a), fields are only semi-autonomous as they exist in interrelationship with each other. In that sense, the field of diversity management is situated in a web of

relations with three other fields that exert influence on it: the cultural field; the institutional field; and the business field. By cultural field, I refer to the historical dynamics of discrimination and inequality in the society and labour market. The history and culture of discrimination and inequality frame the diversity problematic in a society through historically persistent patterns of employment and labour market segmentation of different demographic categories, as well as the dominant ethics and values related to paid work (Bradley 1989, 1999; Bradley et al. 2000; Cavanaugh 1997; Itzin 1995b; Perrons and Sigle-Rushton 2006; Walby 1986, 1988; Witz 1992).

Depending on different historical trajectories of each society, some demographic groups are socially constructed as majority or mainstream while others are pushed to the margins. Hence, categories of diversity that are focused on throughout diversity management processes vary according to the historical and cultural dynamics prevalent in the society and labour market (Prasad and Mills 1997). This, in turn, implies that empirical research on managing diversity needs to situate the phenomenon in the context of the dynamics of discrimination in society and labour market which determines the patterns of inequality, subordination, representation and exploitation in the specific society under investigation.

Second, institutional field refers to the institutional structures regarding diversity and equality. Institutionalised structures, which reproduce or combat inequality in the area of employment, impact upon the handling of workforce diversity at the organisational level. Diversity management research needs to locate organisational diversity management policies within the context of employment and anti-discrimination legislation and in relation to institutionalised actors in the field of employment, such as professional and legal bodies, and trade unions (Bradley et al. 2004; Dean et al. 2006; Healy et al. 2004a; Kirton and Greene 2000).

Finally, the field of diversity management is affected by the business field which includes the dynamics prevalent in the industrial sector and business environment. The business field received overwhelming attention from mainstream diversity management scholars. The changing demographic composition of labour market and contemporary trends regarding the patterns of supply and demand of labour are frequently cited as the proof of the pressing need for diversity management, although that interest has not evolved beyond the demonstration of statistical labour force figures towards a more serious consideration of the patterns of discrimination and segmentation embedded in

these demographic figures (Allard 2002; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Thomas 1990). The globalisation of business (Adler and Ghadar 1990; Loosemore and Al Muslmani 1999; Marable 2000) and changing patterns of work organisation, production and competition (Allard 2002; Ashkanasy et al. 2002; Blazevic and Lievens 2004; Carroll and Hannan 2000) are also put forward as rationales for diversity management.

In addition, within the scope of business field, characteristics of industrial sector impact upon the field of diversity management. Specific sectors offer different patterns of work organisation, sector specific workforce composition and diverse traditions in the field of discrimination and equality. Hence, diversity management practices may vary depending on the sector. For instance, based on the cases of creative and cultural industries, and the private recruitment sector, research conducted by Özbilgin and Tatli (2006b, 2007) demonstrate that the diversity and equality agenda in a specific sector is influenced by the historical construction of the sector and sectoral regulatory structures. Finally, the diversity management field is affected by interests of different stakeholders, including consumers, shareholders, employees, the state, trade unions, diversity and equality institutions, and other communities (Bradley et al. 2004, 2007; Cox 1993; Dean et al. 2006; Evenden 1993; Fernandez 1991; Healy et al. 2004ab; Kirton and Greene 2000; Tyson 1995).

4.2.2 Meso level: organisational subfield and organisational *habitus*

In addition to being embedded in the widespread social field, diversity managers' agency is also situated within the context of their organisations. Katz and Kahn (1978) put forward that leadership in an organisation implies working with and through formal and informal organisational structures at different levels. DiTomaso and Hooijberg (1996: 179) present a very fine summary of their argument:

At the highest level of the organisation they refer to the origination of structure, which concerns the introduction of structural changes and policy formulation. At the middle levels they refer to the interpolation of structure, which concerns piecing out the incompleteness of the existing formal structure. At the supervisory level they refer to the use of structure, which concerns keeping the organisation in motion and in effective operation.

Similar to the organisational leaders, the role of diversity managers as change agents also involves working across organisational structures to implement the diversity management policies and practices. Thus, the meso level of the analytical framework, which focuses on organisational influences, includes the objective and subjective organisational structures. This analytical level accommodates two main constituencies: organisational subfield and organisational *habitus*. The organisational subfield covers

the objective structures pertaining to organisation whereas the organisational habitus denotes the subjective structures. At the meso level, the organisational subfield and the organisational *habitus* shed light to different dimensions of organisational reality, i.e. objective and subjective structured respectively. Bourdieu says:

Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in *habitus*, outside and inside social agents. And when *habitus* encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a ‘fish in water’: it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted... It is because this world has produced me, because it has produced the categories of thought that I apply to it, that it appears to me as self-evident (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127-128).

Hence, the organisational subfield and *habitus* function as the governing logic of the several power positions in the organisational context. For instance, amount and composition of the total volume of capital owned by individual organisational actors depend on the position they occupy across objective structures and formal rules of the organisational subfield, and on informal norms and values prevailing in the *habitus*. The positioning of individual actors across the organisational subfield and *habitus*, then, shapes their experiences at workplace. Career patterns are not simple functions of merit-based criteria of human capital that is measured in terms of education, professional and vocational qualifications and skills. Instead, they are also outcomes of individuals’ conformity with norms and unwritten rules of narrow and wider contexts of the employment environment as well as their ownership of appropriate economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals, which are recognised and legitimised by the logic of the organisational *habitus*.

4.2.2.1 Organisational subfield

The main constituencies of the organisational subfield of diversity management are internal workforce demographics and HRM systems; organisational diversity management structure; and integration of diversity objectives throughout different functions and levels of organisation.

Internal workforce demographics and HRM systems

First, the internal workforce demographics of an organisation have a salient impact on the scope and content of diversity management policies and practices. Given that compliance with anti-discrimination legislation is a key driver for organisational diversity efforts, the composition of internal workforce constitutes one of the basic components of the organisational subfield of diversity management. Thus, internal

workforce demographics provide diversity managers with a framework of actions.

Second, as Dobbs (1996) maintains, integration of diversity goals and objectives into HRM systems of organisations is crucial in diversity management. Parker (1999: 29) reports that the majority of equal opportunities officers she interviewed described their role as “weaving external EEO principles, as institutionalised in anti-discrimination law, with management practices”. Such a link between anti-discrimination legislation and organisational management structures is established mainly through HRM procedures and practices. This means that despite attribution of diversity management to a wider range of functional areas, the playing field of diversity managers is closely connected to HRM operations (Fine 2003).

Organisational diversity management structure

The limits of diversity managers’ actions and impact of those actions are also framed by the organisational diversity management structure. First, analysis of organisational strategies, policies, practices, programmes and initiatives of diversity is important to understand the choices and constraints that diversity managers face throughout the process of managing diversity.

The second component of a diversity structure in an organisation relates to the position of the diversity office and the person of diversity manager within the organisational hierarchy. The presence and status of a separate diversity office and its relationship to other functions in the organisation are among the most direct and visible illustrations of the scope and nature of the organisational diversity management structure. For instance, positioning of the diversity or equality office within a clear management structure has a crucial impact on the effectiveness of the implementation of diversity or equality policies (Lawrence 2000). Furthermore, the position that diversity managers occupy within the power matrix of their organisations may promote or undermine their effectiveness.

In addition, the decisive role of the senior management regarding the fate of diversity initiatives and programmes is frequently cited in the literature (Brimm and Arora 2001; Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Joplin and Daus 1997; Muir 1996). Lawrence (2000) explains that respondents in her research identified supportive management as an enabling factor for them to perform their role. The line managers form another group of powerful organisational actors who will have important influence on the

success and sustainability of the diversity management programmes and policies, as well as on the power and effectiveness of diversity managers' actions (Bradley et al. 2007; Mighty 1991).

In their EOC research project on recruitment and promotion which covered forty-five private sector organisations from five different industries, Collinson et al. (1990) found that personnel managers who are responsible for organisational equal opportunities policies, had little influence on the recruitment and promotion decisions of the line managers either because they were based at the corporate office, hence geographically too remote from the local branches, or because they were at a lower hierarchical level than the line managers. Consequently, line managers frequently acted upon their personal ideological approaches although these might have contradicted the corporate equal opportunities policy (Collinson et al. 1990: 90-91). Thus, the support for and ownership of diversity management policies and programmes by organisational actors at different ranks and functions have a strong impact in shaping the power dynamics in the organisational subfield of diversity management.

Integration of diversity objectives across organisation

The level of integration of diversity objectives across different functions and ranks of an organisation plays a key role in shaping the power dynamics in the organisational subfield of diversity management. Objective structures which help embed diversity concerns across the organisation may include integration of diversity goals into the corporate objectives and strategy, and into the performance appraisals of senior and line managers. These structures also indicate the legitimacy of diversity management in the organisation, and in turn cast an important influence on diversity managers' agency.

Furthermore, the mainstream literature and anecdotal evidence from practitioners suggest that positive impact of diversity management on the business outcomes is a crucial motivation for the integration of diversity principles into the mission and vision of the company at all levels (Capowski 1996; Dobbs 1996; Jones et al. 1989). Thus, it is claimed, a compelling and convincing business case needs to be made by the diversity manager to attract the necessary resources (Cox and Blake 1991; Robinson and Dechant 1997).

4.2.2.2 Organisational *habitus*

The organisational *habitus* denotes the organisational culture and organisational memory or subconscious that informally governs the conduct of action and interaction in the organisation. It establishes the relational context of the organisation. In other words, it is the relational principle of the organisational subfield. The organisational *habitus* brings the subjective structures of meso level of diversity management into the analysis. The organisational *habitus*, which embeds organisational culture, interaction and practices, functions like a silent convention. Since it is based on the power of habitual practice, which is performed without thinking and questioning, *habitus* is most of the time perceived as natural or pre-given (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

However, organisational *habitus* is not a singular and static entity, but a hybrid of organisational memory, i.e. the pre-established logic of the organisational culture, and multiple micro *habitus*, which are brought into the organisation by organisational members. So, the dominant organisational *habitus* includes *habitus* of employees that are reproduced outside of the workplace. For that reason, organisational *habitus* is a contested terrain in which different groups in the organisation compete for the hegemony over the terms of organisational culture and power. In other words, organisational *habitus* is the site of tension, negation and negotiation between different organisational members. Organisational *habitus* is reproduced by conscious and unconscious, conforming and deviant acts of organisational members. The tension between the dominant *habitus* of the organisation and *habitus* of organisational agents becomes the source of reproductive transformation of the organisational culture. Thus, power relations are intrinsic to organisational *habitus*. In addition to the issue of power, temporal dimension of *habitus* is an important aspect of the notion since it brings the historical dimension in the study of organisational culture. Bourdieu (1990a: 54) states:

The *habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history- in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms.

Accordingly, organisational *habitus* works as a historically constructed and informal logic, which governs the allocation of power positions in the organisational context. Within the scope of diversity management research, the notion of organisational *habitus* urges critical endeavour in two main areas. First of these is structural aspects of *habitus*

as they are crystallised in the organisational culture. Second, diversity management research needs to attend to intergroup relationships, and employees' reactions to and attitudes towards organisational policies and practices of managing diversity.

Dobbs (1996: 364) argues that the diversity management process should start with "identifying the elements of the culture that facilitate and hinder diversity and making a plan of action for change". It is maintained in the literature that some type of organisations associated with specific organisational cultures present more nurturing and receptive sites for diversity management efforts, i.e. organisational cultures based on collectivist values (Chatman et al. 1998), 'clan culture type' and 'adhocracy culture type' (Dwyer et al. 2003), multicultural organisation (Cox 1991), organisations with positive 'equal opportunities climate' or 'diversity climate' (Knouse and Dansby 2000).

Furthermore, studies, which analysed the impact of diversity on different groups of employees indicate that effects of and reactions towards workforce diversity display variations across different groups, suggesting that some groups of organisational members are more receptive and supportive of diversity management process, while some others tend to be resistant and oppositional (Cordero et al. 1997; DiTomaso et al. 1996; Knouse and Dansby 2000; Tsui et al. 1992; Wharton and Baron 1987). Finally, interaction between different groups and individuals, which is one of the most heavily researched areas in the diversity literature, is an important area of intervention for diversity managers.

Elmes and Connelley (1997) urge diversity managers to pay attention to inter-group relations if they are to enforce change in the organisational fabric. Only through recognition of the nature of inter-group relations and organisational culture, which construct the organisational *habitus*, diversity managers will be able to challenge the deeply seated structured of exclusion and discrimination. For instance, Dobbs (1996) argues that diversity managers need to understand the dynamics governing the organisational culture in order to consciously enforce change as part of the diversity management process, as well as to anticipate sites of resistance in the change process and to plan strategies to manage it. In summary, analysis of organisational *habitus* is crucial for the understanding the agency of diversity managers and dynamics of diversity management at the organisational level. Diversity managers need to unveil the unquestioned logic of organisational *habitus* for two basic reasons. First, organisational *habitus* informs the choices, constraints and resources available to diversity managers.

Second, diversity managers have to work through and within the organisational *habitus* to initiate a sustainable and long term organisational change.

4.2.3 Micro level: diversity managers' agency as shaped by different forms of capital and strategies

In order to investigate the micro level dynamics of diversity managers' agency, Bourdieu's concepts of capital and strategies are utilised as these notions provide a relational conception of agency. Within the Bourdieuan framework, dynamics of capital and strategies are governed by the logic of *habitus* and the field. They do not have an autonomous existence independent of *habitus* and field. At the same time field and *habitus* owe their existence to the actions of individuals since they are reproduced by those actions which are realised within the matrix of different forms of capital and strategies.

Contrary to the human capital theories' focus on individual skills and qualifications obtained through education, training and experience in explaining workplace careers and agency (Becker 1975), Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1987, 1990a, 1998a) offers a relational theory of capitals. Human capital approach is criticised for creating an illusion of 'free choice', isolating the individual from the socio-economic context, and, in turn, providing an ideological justification of status quo (Crompton 1986; Witz 1992, 1993). Bourdieu's notion of capital goes far beyond the simplistic conception of merit-based human capital theories which legitimise the inequalities in the workplace and reduce the understanding of agency at the workplace to individual factors by ignoring the macro and meso level structural factors.

Borrowing from the Marxist terminology, he defines capital as "accumulated labour (in its materialised form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu 1986: 241). In addition to economic capital which is mainly measured by the income level, Bourdieu (1987: 4) proposes three other forms of capital:

firstly economic capital, in its various kinds; secondly cultural capital or better, informational capital, again in its different kinds; and thirdly two forms of capital that are very strongly correlated, social capital which consists of resources based on connections and group membership, and symbolic capital, which is the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognised as legitimate.

‘Cultural capital’ which is also named as informational capital by Bourdieu refers to factors such as taste and consumption patterns, art, education and forms of language, and has three forms; embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Mahar et al. 1990). ‘Social capital’ which refers to relations with significant others, “is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Finally, ‘symbolic capital’, which is the most complex of all, is the form that other forms of capital take once they are recognised and legitimised within a given field. Thus, transfer of economic, cultural and social capitals into symbolic capital is possible only when there is a match between the logic of the field and these forms of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Consequently, symbolic capital refers to attributes such as prestige, status and authority (Bourdieu 1990a).

Bourdieu’s theory of capitals is, in essence, relational and contextual, as it is only through the mediation of *habitus* and field that different forms of capital gain their value. In other words, “the value given to capital(s) is related to the social and cultural characteristics of the *habitus*” (Mahar et al. 1990: 13). In effect, different forms of capital owned by individuals are not free floating entities, with generic value independent from the very framework they are generated and reproduced (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). However, this structural embeddedness does not mean that agents are deprived of voluntary action. Instead, Bourdieu’s theory of human agency acknowledges social agents’ potential to transform their settings and circumstances, that is field and *habitus*, as well as, it explains how social structures and mechanisms are reproduced by the repetitive enactment of *habitus* and orthodoxy by the individual agents in their everyday actions and interactions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In a similar vein, Nash (2003: 49) situates the Bourdieuan agency as follows:

With the concept of *habitus*, as an internalised mediating mechanism that more or less automatically – as a *doxic* relation to the world embodying the strategic mechanisms imposed by the structures of the field- produces practice, Bourdieu occupies, as he puts it, the space between structuralist and intentionalist accounts. It seems, therefore, as if Bourdieu’s sociological theory requires an agent endowed with dispositions able to translate structural principles of the culture into lived practice, with sufficient autonomy to allow observed social transformations to take place, but sufficiently conditioned as to effect the actual reproduction of social institutions (Nash 2003: 49).

Social agents utilise strategies to transform, allocate and distribute their volume of capital between different forms which, in turn, determine the boundaries of their agency. Mahar et al. (1990: 17) explains their interpretation of the interplay between capital and strategies within *habitus* as follows:

Given the idea that *habitus* is not totally determined by structures, and that an agent can take up number of positions within relatively autonomous fields, we have a situation which allows considerable room for manoeuvre through the employment of various strategies... 1. The idea that the struggle for recognition is a fundamental dimension of social life and struggles are over the accumulation of capital ... 2. The idea of strategy, like the orientation of practice, is not conscious nor calculated nor is it mechanically determined. It is the intuitive product of 'knowing' the rules of the game.

By employing several strategies, individuals on the one hand transform, allocate and distribute their volume of capital between different forms, and on the other hand reproduce and transform organisational *habitus* and organisational subfield. For that reason understanding the agency of diversity managers within the organisational subfield and *habitus*, requires an analysis of different forms of capital owned and strategies employed by them. Accordingly, indicators of each form of capital and their impact on the actions of the diversity managers need to be explored in order to understand the micro level dynamics governing the agency of diversity managers.

First, indicators of cultural capital include cultural and demographic background as well as traits which traditionally refer to human capital, i.e. formal education, training and work experience. Second, in an organisational setting, individuals' status and authority within the organisational hierarchy are most visible indicators of the level of symbolic capital at their disposal. For diversity managers, this translates to their job role and position, and status and authority of the diversity office in relation to other functions of the organisation. The position of diversity managers within the organisational hierarchy and the levels of authority allocated to them also illustrate the extent of centrality of diversity management in mainstream organisational policies and strategies. Lack of seniority can be interpreted as a reflection of lack of organisational commitment for diversity management (Lawrence 2000). In addition, the position and status of the diversity office within the organisational structure establishes a crucial source of legitimacy and power for the actions and decisions of diversity managers. The importance of the position of the diversity office for achieving diversity goals has been stated in the anecdotes from diversity practitioners (Jones et al. 1989).

Finally, social capital at the disposal of diversity managers emanates from intra- and extra-organisational sources in the form of involvement in formal or informal groups and networks. In the literature, involvement and buy-in regarding the diversity management policy and programmes by the organisational members and groups from different levels and functions, are cited among the key pillars of successful diversity management (Dobbs 1996; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000). Diversity managers' formal and informal networks within their organisations and their personal skills such as negotiation, persuasion, attracting voluntary involvement become particularly important considering the budget constraints facing diversity management programmes and initiatives. In addition to economic benefits of having support of employees and senior management, Meyerson (2001a) points out that another benefit of having allies, who represent the majority perspective, is to gain access to insider's knowledge. Similarly, Brimm and Arora's (2001: 122) account of diversity practitioners illustrates the importance of insider's knowledge on the determination of the timing and coverage of diversity management policy and programmes:

One diversity representative says she 'keeps her ears to the ground' and finds out who, among senior and top management, is sympathetic. Another says she always 'tests the water' before launching an initiative. She finds out what managers are ready to hear and puts her messages across in as non-threatening a way as possible.

Parker (1999) argues that having access to information dissemination channels within the organisation is crucial for equality officers to perform their job role since they transfer their message through these channels to organisational members in order to gain support and involvement from different levels of organisation. By being part of formal and informal organisational networks and, thus, having access to insiders' knowledge, diversity managers learn the 'rules of the game', i.e. governing principles of the organisational subfield and *habitus*, the knowledge of which is essential for diversity managers to enact strategies. Diversity managers participate in the game by virtue of the different forms of capital they own. That implies that total volume of capital that is owned by diversity managers and its distribution among different forms, determine the potential power bases available to them and by employing strategies, diversity managers activate that potential.

4.3 Conclusion

Reflecting on the neglect of diversity managers as a research subject, as explored in the Chapter Three, and arguing for the importance of understanding their agency within the diversity management process, a relational framework for exploring the agency of diversity managers has been proposed in this chapter. The framework utilises Bourdieu's key concepts as orienting concepts in order to situate the agency of diversity managers at multiple levels: field at the macro level, organisational subfield and organisational *habitus* at the meso level, and different forms of capital and strategies at the micro level. These concepts are interpreted within the framework of organisational research, and operationalised in relation to diversity managers' agency. This chapter offered a detailed explanation of the meaning of these concepts for researching multiple levels of influence that together shape diversity managers' agency.

The conceptual framework, which is presented in this chapter, guides the analysis of field research findings. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight of the thesis explores the macro-social level dynamics that frame the agency of diversity managers. Chapter Nine outlines the meso-organisational influences on diversity managers' agency, through analysis of formal and informal structures, that is, organisational subfield and *habitus* respectively. Finally, Chapter Ten narrows down the analysis to the micro-individual level, and investigates potential sources of power available to diversity managers, that is different forms of capital, and the ways in which diversity managers actualise this potential, that is use of strategies, in order to enhance their effectiveness, legitimacy and credibility in organisational settings.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the research methodology adopted in this study. I start the chapter with a discussion of the research philosophy, which informed this study, since philosophical grounding is the backbone of any research inquiry (Collier 1994: 16). Thus, I first discuss the basic tenets of the critical realist approach, which underpins the research philosophy adopted in this research. Then, the methodological principles which guided the field study are provided. This is followed by a section on the research design, where I offer a narration of how I secured research access and highlight the impact of research access issues upon research questions and research methods. The section also includes an account of the field work and different methods employed. I explain the choice of multiple method research strategy by relating it to critical realism and discuss how each research method was utilised in order to enable a relational and multi-level understanding of diversity managers' agency. The chapter then proceeds to describe research methods and process of data analysis. In line with one of the key methodological principles adopted in this research, the chapter concludes with a self-reflexive account of the research process.

5.2 Research philosophy: critical realism

The fundamentals of critical realist tradition have been established with the publication of Bhaskar's *A Realist Theory of Science* in 1978. As Roberts (2001: 668) indicates two interrelated philosophical strands form the foundations of critical realist ontology and epistemology: transcendental realism and critical naturalism. In this section, I briefly look at the critical realist principles or debates on epistemological, ontological and methodological issues, including epistemic fallacy, the layered nature of social reality, the dualism of agency versus structure and methodological pluralism.

The domain of social science is characterised by unsettled and unresolved disputes on interrelated questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Critical realist scholars argue that rationalist, empiricist and idealist standpoints commit an 'epistemic fallacy' by reducing the question of ontology to the question of epistemology, i.e. reducing the reality to the knowledge of reality (Bhaskar 1979; Archer 2000). Rationalists deems the reality dependent on *a priori* categories of human mind, i.e.

reality is bound with what we can think. Idealist philosophy defines reality in terms of what we can conceptualise and experience, whilst empiricist philosophy assumes that reality is what we can observe. In contrast, critical realist philosophy criticises these approaches and maintains a view of the reality as prior to and independent of epistemology and methodology (Gijssels 2003). This, in turn, suggests the necessity of the social scientific enquiry to be grounded on a clear philosophical and ontological approach, and be explicit about it. The adoption of a critical realist approach in this research brings in a conceptualisation of social reality, which acknowledges the existence of a material reality independent of our knowledge of it.

Furthermore, critical realism argues against flat ontologies of positivist and interpretivist traditions. Positivism limits the scientific inquiry with the observable regularities in the empirical domain whilst interpretivists focus on the ‘reality’ as it is experienced and interpreted by the actors (Layder 1998). Conversely, critical realists argue that the reality is deep, complex and layered (Wad 2001). The reality, as defined by critical realism, has three layers: the empirical corresponding to experiences; the actual corresponding to events and behaviour; and the real corresponding to structures and mechanisms (Bhaskar 1998; MacLennan 1999; Gijssels 2003). Hence, critical realism sets out to identify the underlying causal mechanisms, which generate tendencies for observable phenomena or experiences (Bhaskar 1979, 1999; Brown et al. 2001; Houston 2001; Sayer 1992). Adopting a critical realist approach, this PhD thesis is based on an understanding that diversity managers’ agency is materialised in a multi-layered context. First, there is the experiences and perceptions of diversity managers as individuals; second, observable events, structures and outcomes associated with their agency; and finally hidden and deeper mechanisms, which create the tendencies at the first two layers. This study, using a multi-method strategy, which is explained later in the chapter, aims to understand diversity managers’ agency by exploring experiences and perceptions, events and structures, and underlying mechanisms.

Another central debate among critical realist scholars relates to the ‘dualities’ of structure versus agency or society versus individual. Critical realism holds a conception of structure and agents as ontologically different from and irreducible to each other, whilst at the same time it emphasises the existence of relationality and interdependence between two spheres (Bhaskar 1999; Layder 1998; . Mutch 1999; Roberts 2001). Accordingly, both social structures and agents have emergent properties of their own and neither can be reduced to the other (Archer 1995; Sawyer 2002). Informed by

critical realist ontology, in this thesis, agency and structure are understood as interrelated and co-dependent and diversity managers' agency is conceptualised not at individual level, but as a multi-level phenomena. Accordingly, the study explores not only agentic and structural influences on diversity managers' agency, but also investigates the interplay of agency and structure. In the previous chapter, I have presented an analytical framework which accounts for structural and individual as well as organisational dynamics of diversity managers' agency.

Finally, in terms of research methodology, critical realism is not associated with a specific set of research methods or research strategies. Yet, there are still some commonly accepted methodological principles. First of these principles relates to the explanatory nature of critical realist methodology in contrast to the inductivist descriptive methodology of positivism. The second principle of critical realist methodology is based on the layered ontology of the critical realism. Since the aim is to investigate the domain of the real as the underlying layer of the domain of the actual and the empirical; and since the real can be only investigated through its generating effects on the sphere of the actual and empirical, a transcendental move from the level of actual to non-actual establishes the basis of a critical realist methodology (Brown 1999). Following these methodological principles, some critical realist scholars developed their own methodological strategies, e.g. abstraction (Sayer 1992); realist closure (Pawson 1989); and adaptive theory (Layder 1998).

Nevertheless, critical realism stands as a relatively open philosophy in the sense of being compatible with different types of research methods (Scheuer 2001). In fact, critical realism advocates methodological pluralism in order to capture the complex multi-layered nature of social reality and to investigate the relationality and interdependence between different domains of social world. In a way, the strategy of utilising multiple research methods can be also seen as a strategy to reconcile the subjective and objective dimensions of social reality within a single framework. Transcending the false dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative research methods, critical realism argues that the nature of the object of research plays the decisive role in the choice of research methods. (Sayer 2000; Brown et al. 2001; Patomaki and Wight 2000). Likewise, the methodological strategy and the specific research methods, which were used in this study, have been chosen with the consideration of the nature of research questions and the subject of the research. Thus, rather than offering a fixed

package of research methods, critical realism provides this doctoral study with the necessary ontological, epistemological and philosophical tools to build a methodological strategy and to select the combination of research methods that are compatible with the object of research. I explain the correspondence or fit between the research methods and research questions in detail later in this chapter, where I elaborate the research strategy of my field work. In the next section, informed by critical realism and the work of Bourdieu, I introduce the methodological principles that were adopted within the framework of this study.

5.3 Methodological principles

In the first part of this chapter, I explained the ways in which critical realism as a research philosophy informed this research at a more abstract level. However, despite its strong philosophical grounding, critical realism displays limitations in terms of empirical social research as noted by the critical realist writers themselves (Nash 2003; Wainwright 2000). This section engages with a discussion of the methodological approach adopted in this study. Using critical realist philosophy as a guideline and taking into account the nature of my research subject, I followed methodological principles, which were adopted from Bourdieu (1999) and critical realist scholar Layder (1998). I also used orienting concepts, which were drawn from Bourdieu's theory of human agency in order to overcome the aforementioned limitations of social scientific inquiry including epistemic fallacy, and agency and structure dualism.

The methodological approach of this PhD research is based on an understanding of spheres of structure and agency as relational and interdependent. In this section, I discuss the value of Bourdieu's sociological framework in terms of overcoming the duality of structure and agency. Throughout this discussion Bourdieu's methodological approach is introduced and commonalities between his work and critical realism are identified. Bourdieu's scientific endeavour could be better understood if the late 1950s' social science field in France dominated by 'objective' structuralism of Levi-Strauss at the one end and the 'subjective' existentialism of Sartre at the other is taken into consideration (Özbilgin and Tatli 2005). Within that context, Bourdieu has defined his project as seeking to overcome that binary opposition through a "structuralist constructivism or constructivist structuralism" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 11). Hence, his work can be defined in the broadest sense, Grenfell and James (1998: 1-2) state, as "both a philosophical perspective and practical methodology which have

attempted to establish an alternative to the extremes of post-modernist subjectivity and positivist objectivity... Bourdieu's ideas offer an epistemological and methodological third way”.

Bourdieu's framework offers a middle range methodological model between the levels of individual and society, which is well situated for investigation of the agency of diversity managers in the macro-social and meso-organisational settings. Commenting on Bourdieu's methodological position with respect to the duality of structure and agency, Sulkunen (1982: 103) argues that Bourdieu's “methodological point of view is at the one and the same time anti-functionalist, anti-empiricist and anti-subjectivist”. Like the critical realist school, Bourdieu (1977: 4) emphasises the importance of transcending the methodological dualism between objectivism and subjectivism:

We shall escape from the ritual either/or choice between objectivism and subjectivism in which the social sciences have so far allowed themselves to be trapped only if we are prepared to inquire into the mode of production and functioning of the practical mastery which makes possible both an objectively intelligible practice and also an objectively enchanted experience of that practice.

Bourdieu maintains that although subjectivist approaches such as phenomenology and ethnomethodology contribute to the knowledge of human agency by acknowledging the importance of primary experience, they lack the methodological and theoretical means to account for it (Bourdieu 2000). As Calhoun (1999: 145) notes, “Bourdieu stresses that this is not simply a matter of phenomenologically reconstructing lived experience. It is necessary that a theory of practice give a good account of the limits of awareness which are involved in lived experience”. Against positivist methodology Bourdieu invites the social scientists to be cautious against their presuppositions, which are embedded in the theoretical constructions. He “denounces the manner in which positivistic questionnaire sociology takes at face value the statistical patterns of survey responses, which in fact are only representations of the arbitrary theoretical constructions of the sociologist himself” (Sulkunen 1982: 103-4). Critiquing objectivist and subjectivist methodologies, he puts forward that one of the tasks of social research is to transcend the preconceptions held by both the researcher and the research participants (Bourdieu 1999, 2003a). Bourdieu (1999: 628) argues for “the necessity of constructing the scientific object by breaking with what Emile Durkheim called ‘preconceptions’- the representations that social agents make of their own condition”. The process of breaking with preconceptions involves two levels of ruptures, the first

from the primary experience of the research participants and the second from the presuppositions of the researcher. Robbins (1991: 83) explains that process, on the basis of the three modes of theoretical knowledge described by Bourdieu:

There is first the primary phenomenological knowledge of the social world, then there is the second, 'objectivist' knowledge which attempts to impose a structure on the primary and unarticulated knowledge. The second knowledge requires a break or a detachment from primary experience, but the important emphasis of the Bourdieu's position is that there must be a second epistemological break so as to reach a third kind of knowledge. This second break requires that the observation of the observer should be observed, or preferably, be reflexively undertaken.

Bourdieu's conception of epistemological rupture bears a close resemblance to the critical realisms' argument on the necessity of transcending the actual and empirical domains. Indeed, the parallels between Bourdieu's work and critical realist philosophy are cited by several authors (Fowler 1997; Lash 1993; Mutch et al. 2006; Nash 2003). Similar to critical realists Bourdieu offers a relational picture of social reality in his life time project of constructing a theory of human agency (Vandenberghe 1999). Fowler (1997: 7-8) notes that "Bourdieu is a realist... As against positivists, realists accept that explanation may involve analysis in terms of unobserved entities... As against rationalists, realists claim that the unobserved and intransitive relations and objects are not unknowable".

Similarly, Wainwright (2000:2) making the following quotation from Bourdieu, "The goal of sociology is to uncover the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe, as well as the 'mechanisms' that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation", argues that Bourdieu's research programme is a clearly realist one. Furthermore, he points out the relatively weak position of the critical realist paradigm in the 'social research war with positivism' and he claims that "realists should pin" the following statement of Bourdieu "on their study walls" as a slogan: "Discourse on scientific practice is quite disastrous when it takes the place of scientific practice" (Wainwright 2000:4). Nash (2003: 43) is another critical realist who points out to the fruitful methodological ground provided by Bourdieu to explain the multilayered nature of social reality. In contrast to the overwhelming neglect of empirical research in the critical realist school, exceptions include Layder 1998; Pawson 1989; Sawyer 2002; Sayer 1992, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 159-60) emphasise the importance of field work: "One cannot think well except in and through theoretically constructed empirical cases".

Similar to the discussions put forward by Bourdieu, Layder (1998: 176) argues within the framework of his *adaptive theory* that ‘the social world is constructed by multiple ontological domains’ which are distinct from and irreducible to each other.

Accordingly, basic methodological principles of this research as informed by Bourdieu (1999) and Layder (1998) are:

1. Research is understood as a reflexive process of questioning the presuppositions by breaking with the preconceptions of the research participants and the researcher. In other words, the research process involves “active denunciation of the tacit presupposition of common sense” (Bourdieu 1999: 620).
2. Principles of openness and avoiding the ‘taken for granted’ attitude are among the most important guiding principles of a reflexive research process. Hence active and methodical listening is the basic principle that the researcher should attend during the research process (Bourdieu 1999).
3. The social world is constructed by ontologically different but interrelated domains. Understanding of human agency requires the investigation of both the domain of partly preconstituted objective systemic structures of society and the domain of intersubjectivity constructed through the actions of individuals (Layder 1998).
4. Subjective and objective domains of the social world are relational and the aim of the research is to understand the deeper, invisible and relational mechanisms generating human agency as it is embedded in objective and subjective domains (Layder 1998).
5. As a methodological strategy to investigate different ontological domains and the relationality between them, orienting concepts are utilised in the research (Layder 1998).

These methodological principles guided this research to help explain the invisible underlying mechanisms that are embedded in the agency of diversity managers. This investigation requires breaking up with both the preconceptions held by research participants, diversity managers, in order to transcend the subjectivist bias and the presumptions held by the researcher so as to overcome the positivist bias. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, most of the diversity research is trapped by either of these biases and focuses on rhetorical aspects of the issue such as business case. In effect, diversity management literature overwhelmingly remains descriptive and presents prescriptions instead of providing explanations of the deeper mechanisms that

generate the processes of diversity management and experiences of diversity managers. I propose a methodological approach, which will enable critical engagement with the research data by integrating socio-economic forces and organisational dynamics into the analysis of the situational nature of the diversity managers' agency. This is done by the medium of methodological principles and the methodological strategy of employing orienting concepts. In this study, field, *habitus*, strategies and capitals are used to elaborate the three layers of social reality diversity managers pursue their job. In the next section, I discuss the challenges of employing these four concepts as the analytical and methodological backbone of this study.

Methodological and analytical difficulties of operationalising Bourdieuan concepts

Utilisation of 'orienting concepts' that are drawn from the existing work and literature is suggested by Layder (1998: 101) as a methodological strategy "to give direction and guidance in the initial stages of a new research project". Accordingly, four core concepts in Bourdieu's framework, field, *habitus*, strategies and different forms of capital are employed as orienting concepts within the scope of the research in order to clarify the research questions and different methodological levels of investigation. These concepts constitute the backbone of Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1987, 1990ab, 1998a) theory of human agency as generated through the relationality between different levels of social reality. Within Bourdieu's framework, field denotes the universe of partly preconstituted objective historical relations between positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 16). The recognition of symbolic as well as objective power struggles in Bourdieu's formulation of the field, sets it aside from the original conception of the notion by Lewin (1951) and makes it more appropriate for the purposes of understanding agency (Özbilgin and Tatli 2005: 967). Social and organisational fields as the defining principles of the allocation of several power positions in the society and organisation draw the boundaries of individual agency.

On the other hand, the concept of *habitus* functions as a bridge between structure and agency (Grenfell and James 1998). In other words, it is the subjectification and deposition of field in the individual bodies (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Bourdieu (1977: 72, 95) defines *habitus* as the strategy generating principle, which enables "agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations... a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moments as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and made possible the

achievement of infinitely diversified tasks". Individuals are positioned in the field which embeds power relations with respect to the amount of capital at their disposal and employ several strategies to reconfigure the amount of different forms of capital in their portfolio in order to enhance their power position within the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In this research I used these four concepts, i.e. field, habitus, strategies and capitals as orienting concepts. However, employing and operationalising Bourdieu's key concepts for the study of diversity managers' agency was not without limitations and challenges. The challenge for me was twofold: analytical and methodological.

To start with, operationalising Bourdieu's concepts presents a challenge for researchers as Bourdieu used them in his analysis of empirical data to provide exploratory frameworks which organically weaves his key concepts together. In that sense, neither different levels of social reality, nor the processes of operationalising the concepts are explicit in Bourdieu's work. In other words, Bourdieu does not offer an explicitly levelled analysis. Instead, macro, meso and micro levels of explanation remains implicit and to a large extent interwoven and inseparable in the Bourdieuan framework. On the other hand, I used aforementioned four concepts of Bourdieu in order to analyse different levels of diversity manager's agency. The reason why I preferred such a levelled approach was related to its advantage of providing analytical clarity. The use of the orienting concepts for the purpose of operationalising macro, meso and micro levels of investigation in this research is extensively explained earlier in Chapter Four. As a brief summary, this research employs field, habitus, and capitals and strategies to explore macro, meso and micro levels of diversity managers' agency respectively.

Nevertheless, as I discuss throughout the analysis chapters of the thesis, this does not refer to a rigid framework of levels in which explanatory power of each concept is limited to its respective level. For example, operationalisation of field as a macro level concept does not suggest that the field of diversity management exists in isolation from meso and micro level dynamics without impacting and being impacted by organisational and individual level influences. Conversely, actualisation of mechanisms underlying the macro-level of diversity managers' agency takes place through organisational and individual acts. Furthermore, macro level dynamics governing the field of diversity management draw the framework in which meso and micro elements of diversity managers' agency reside. Similarly, at the meso level organisational subfield and habitus are on the one hand framed by macro-field of diversity

management, and on the other hand they provide the framework within which strategies are generated and different forms of capitals are accorded value and legitimacy. Finally, at the micro level, different forms of capital at disposal of diversity managers and strategies employed by them are generated through mechanisms prevalent in organisations and society, whilst both use of strategies and capitals reproduce or transform the logic of the field and habitus. In the analysis chapters of this work, cross-references to dynamics at different levels and the ways in which they exert influence and are influenced by each other are made. However, the nature of empirical data, which were available for this study, placed limitations in terms of in-depth exploration of these processes of interplay between field, habitus, strategies and capitals. This brings me to the second challenge of employing Bourdieu's concepts, which is a methodological one.

Bourdieu used his key concepts for the first time in *Outline of Theory of Practice* which was based on his ethnographic study in Algeria. He further developed these concepts in his subsequent work on Kablye culture (e.g. Bourdieu 1990a, 1998a), class dynamics in France (e.g. Bourdieu 1984, 1991, 1998a), and academic field (e.g. Bourdieu 1988, Bourdieu et al. 1994). Thus, Bourdieu's use of field, habitus, capitals and strategies was informed by rich and in-depth empirical data generated through a long term involvement with the societies, cultures and institutions that he analysed. In other words, his ethnographic field work in Algeria has offered him with rich and in-depth insights into the everyday life of Kablye tribes. Similarly, Bourdieu's analyses of class and academic field in France were not only based on extensive qualitative and quantitative data but also informed by the fact that he was a life-long observer of and participant in French society and academia.

This doctoral study, on the other hand, has none of these methodological advantages. As I discuss in the section on reflexivity in this chapter, I am a foreigner conducting research in Britain and I am not a practitioner in the diversity management field, both of which deprives me of the insider's knowledge. Furthermore, this study is not based on an ethnographic field research. The data are generated through semi-structured interviews and the online questionnaire survey, none of which offers the richness of ethnographic insights. Furthermore, as pointed out in this chapter and in the conclusion chapter of the thesis, my research methods did not allow me to have extensive observational data. Due to the time constraints of the research participants in terms of the amount of time they are able to devote for the interviews and the impossibility to

conduct several repeat interviews with the same participants, I had to devise the interview schedule and questionnaire survey succinctly. As a result, the questions for both interviews and survey were devised in a way to reveal the key elements of the agency of diversity managers at macro, meso and micro levels. Within that framework, this research employs Bourdieu's concepts in a limited scope in the sense that the concepts are operationalised with the consideration of the nature of research methods. Thus, the research does not explore the processes through which field, habitus, different forms of capital and strategies are generated as much as it investigates the more static, and time and context specific characteristics of these. For example, in order to understand different forms of capitals at disposal of diversity managers, I ask questions that identify sources or capitals rather than elaborating the processes through which different forms of capitals are produced, acquired and transferred as the research methods of this study does not allow such ethnographic explorations. The rest of this chapter further deals with the process of field work and the nature of empirical data by introducing the research strategy through a discussion of research design and reflexivity.

5.4 Research design

In this study, I followed a traditional process of literature review, research design, field study, analysis of the findings, and writing up. However, there were iterative and overlapping processes as insights from each phase informed the others, and I revisited each of the earlier processes in order to revise and refine the literature review, the research questions, research tools and analysis. This section deals with how the research has been conducted in order to answer the research questions of this PhD study. Within that scope, each phase in the research process, that is, literature review, data collection and data analysis, is explained in their sequential order.

5.4.1 Literature review

The literature review has been predominantly conducted in the first phase of the research project, although reading of additional and new publications was an integral part of the whole research period including the final phases of writing up. The review of the relevant literature played a crucial role particularly in the first phase of the research since familiarising myself with the academic writing on equal opportunities, diversity management and change agency as well as the scholarly debates on social science methodology and epistemology, helped me to refine the focus of the research. It was during and through the extensive review of the literature on equal employment opportunities and on diversity management that research questions were gradually

clarified and refined. Reflecting on the tendencies, agreements and shortcomings in these two, sometimes overlapping, areas of literature, the research objectives, hence the research philosophy, methodology and methods, have evolved to their latest forms.

5.4.2 Data collection

This section is organised in two parts. The first part of the section deals with the process of gaining research access, and also offers insights into how I made my decisions in terms of selection of research methods utilised during the field study, and how these decisions were affected by research access issues. Although, the research design was a logical process rather than an outcome of chance occurrences, it was also a dynamic and non-linear process, which involved negotiation with gate keepers, revisiting the design of the research, and sometimes the research questions as in my case, and exploring different sources and tools to reach data in order to answer the research questions. In the next part, while narrating how I secured research access, I also explain the ways in which my original research design, including the research aims, research methods and the targeted groups for interviews, was altered during the field work. In the second part of the section, after narrating the rather painful process of securing research access, I describe the research methods used in the field work, case study, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaire survey. This part also presents the data sources that were associated with each of these methods.

5.4.2.1 Securing research access

This section narrates the process of securing research access, and the impact of research access issues in combining research methods. I describe the process of obtaining research access in its chronological order, starting with securing research access for Ford Motor Company followed by obtaining access for the semi-structured interviews with eleven diversity managers, who work for large organisations in the UK, and the national online survey.

On reflection, securing research access has been one of the most challenging components of my PhD experience. As Patton (2002) states the entry stage of fieldwork is both a site of joy and pain for researchers. Unfortunately in my case, the entry stage has been rather painful than joyful. At a personal level, the process of trying to secure research access to the case study company involved feelings of fear, anxiety, insecurity and gradually increasing panic as my engagement with the organisational gate keepers was unexpectedly prolonged without any outcomes. Furthermore, as one of the unexpected or unforeseen consequences of the process, I was forced to radically

reformulate my research objectives and methods in order to reconcile the demands of the field work organisation and the requirements of social scientific enquiry. Nevertheless, this reformulation proved valuable as it allowed an explicitly multi-layered approach through the benefit of combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. Below, I provide a narration of how I secured access to different data sources which were utilised in this thesis in order to examine the agency of diversity managers.

This PhD research was originally intended to be primarily based on the qualitative case study of Ford Motor Company. The case study method was chosen since it allows utilisation of multiple data sources to investigate a phenomenon in its real life context through the exploration of loosely defined initial explanation which in turn provides scope for middle range theory (Johnson 1998; Robson 2002; Yin 1994).

The rationale behind the decision to choose Ford Motor Company as a site for my field work was twofold. First, the changing state of the diversity management practice in the company, with the introduction of a company-wide diversity management intervention, rendered the company attractive for an exploratory analysis of the diversity management dynamics in their actual settings. The meetings with the diversity managers of the company in the UK and my preliminary review of the company documents have given the impression that the organisation has a robust and systematic diversity management policy with clearly defined initiatives and programmes. Moreover, the multinational nature of the company's operations made it conducive for a cross-national comparative analysis of the diversity management policies and practices within the company, particularly regarding the diversity management processes in the US and Europe. In addition, the association of the Ford Motor Company's name with a particular mode of industrial production, Fordism, and its one hundred years old white-male dominated organisational culture presented it as a compelling site of research for the study of diversity management. Due to the nature of its equality and diversity agenda, Ford of Britain presented itself as an exciting and interesting site of exploration since it was under investigation of the CRE regarding possible race discrimination practices.

The second reason for my decision to conduct a field work at Ford was of pragmatic nature. One member of the supervisory team of my doctoral project had worked with Ford of Europe on a diversity management related research project prior to the commencement of my study. He has facilitated my initial contact with two diversity managers of the company. Considering the difficulties involved in gaining access for research, particularly for studies exploring sensitive issues such as diversity and

equality, initial positive responses from company representatives on the request for research access, have played an important part in my decision. The informal negotiation process with the diversity managers of Ford of Britain led me to believe that I would be provided with extensive research access, including interviews and focus groups with different organisational members, access to internal company documents related to diversity management, and an opportunity to conduct participant observation. The process of negotiation involved several visits to the Ford of Europe headquarters at Warley, e-mail exchanges and telephone conversations.

Unfortunately, at the end of an unexpectedly long period of negotiations, which lasted nearly one and half years, it became clear I would not be granted an institutional research access to conduct interviews with employees and line managers, to conduct participant observation in the company and an extensive access to internal company documents. Instead, I was provided with informal access to the persons who have key roles in the organisation's diversity management process. In the absence of the type of research access I had hoped for, I had to revisit and revise my original research questions radically. At the outset, the research objective was to investigate the nature of the impact of diversity management programmes and policies on the transformation of organisational habitus and subfield. Accordingly, the draft interview schedule, which was also made available to the organisational gate keepers at Ford, aimed to investigate the career experience of employees, forms and amount of capital owned by them their opinions on Ford's diversity management programme (see the original interview schedule in Appendix II). Nevertheless, due to the limited nature of the research access I had been eventually provided, which was limited to interview access to the diversity managers of the company, I had altered my research objectives and refocused my research on the level of policy making and on the experiences of diversity managers.

Whilst experiencing difficulties in terms of securing research access at Ford, I was put in touch with the CIPD. I was fortunate enough to receive support from the CIPD in order to conduct a national study on diversity managers and their practices. I personally met the diversity advisor of the CIPD several times. During our meetings and conversations, we talked several times about the necessity of empirical research on the state of diversity management in the UK. She has secured funds and resources for a national questionnaire survey and a set of interviews with the diversity managers of large organisations. I was personally contracted to devise the survey tool and conduct the interviews, and the CIPD guaranteed me privileged access to the survey and interview data for the purpose of the research analysis. I provide more detail on the

CIPD questionnaire and interviews and how these were used as data sources within the scope of this research, in the next section, which describes the field work.

5.4.2.2 Field work

I utilised a multiple research methods strategy in order to ensure rigour in multilevel investigation of the research questions and to cancel out the method effect (Saunders et al. 2003), which refers to the fact that each research method has its unique strengths and weaknesses, hence different effects on the data obtained. Considering that each research method has its own strengths and weaknesses, a combination of methods potentially provides a more complete picture of the research object. The advantages of mixing research methods are frequently mentioned in the literature (Bryman 1988; Flick 2002; Neuman 2000; Punch 1998). For instance, Layder (1998:51) in summarising the ‘rules’ of his ‘adaptive theory’ advocates a multi-strategy framework:

social research should employ as many data collection techniques as possible in order to maximise its ability to tap into all social domains in depth” and he advocates “a multi-strategy framework ... in order to tease out the multi-layered nature of social life.

In social sciences there is a tendency to associate quantitative research methods with positivist methodology whilst qualitative methods are associated with interpretivist approaches. However, my understanding and interpretation of critical realism suggest that social scientists are tasked not only with overcoming the duality of agency and structure at ontological level, but also with transcending the binary of qualitative and quantitative methods in terms of research methodology (Patomaki and Wight 2000). As extensively discussed in the first part of the chapter, critical realism does not advocate a specific research strategy or a collection of research methods. Instead, it is put forward that different research methods may be instrumental in exploring different layers of social reality depending on the research questions, and choice of research methods should be informed by the nature of subject to be investigated (Brown et al. 2001; Sayer 2000).

Accordingly, I have utilised both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to generate data throughout the field work. Two main types of data have been collected during the research process, i.e. primary data including semi-structured interviews, completed questionnaires and research notes, and secondary data in the form of company documentation, and review of relevant extant literature. The field work generated data through three media: (1) a case study research at Ford involving semi-structured interviews and documentary review; (2) semi-structured interviews with

diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations in the UK; and (3) an online questionnaire survey, which was completed by the diversity managers of organisations in different sizes and sector across the UK. The data sources for this research and their use for the exploration of research questions are summarised in the Table 2.

Table 2: Research questions, levels of analysis and data sources

Research questions	Levels of analysis using orienting concepts	Data sources
(i) How is the agency of diversity managers situated in the macro level socio-economic context of the field of diversity management?	Macro-social level Field	Literature review Questionnaire survey Interviews with diversity managers of large organisations
(ii) How do the meso level dynamics of organisational subfield and organisational <i>habitus</i> frame the agency of diversity managers?	Meso-organisational level Organisational subfield Organisational <i>habitus</i>	Ford Interviews Grey literature Research notes
(iii) What are the different forms of capitals owned and strategies utilised by diversity managers, and how do these shape the nature and boundaries of their agency?	Micro-individual level Different forms of capital Strategies	Ford Interviews Research notes

The use of three different methods, case study, interviews and questionnaire survey, allowed the research questions to be explained at macro, meso and micro levels. Evidence from interviews with diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations, and questionnaire survey data were instrumental in revealing the macro level dynamics, which draw the boundaries of diversity managers’ agency. Through the analysis of these two national studies which involved participants from across the UK, this study identifies the characteristics of the diversity management field in the UK.

Chapter Six situates the field of diversity management in relation to the wider web of fields. Then, Chapters Seven and Eight explore the internal dynamics, which shape the diversity management field by investigating discourses and practices prevailing in the field, and identifying the mechanisms that construct professional identity of diversity managers, respectively. Finally, data generated during the case study, which involved conducting semi-structured interviews with diversity managers of Ford Motor Company, and collecting documentary evidence, provide an in-depth understanding of the working of meso and micro level dynamics of diversity managers’ agency in its actual organisational setting. Accordingly, Chapter Nine analyses the meso level

structures of organisational subfield and organisational *habitus*, which frame the agency of diversity managers. Chapter Ten narrows down the analysis of diversity managers' agency to the level of micro-individual dynamics, and explores different forms of capital at the disposal of diversity managers and strategies used by them in order to gain power, authority and legitimacy in their organisational setting. The next part explains the sources through which research data have been generated: Semi-structured interviews, documentary review and unstructured observations, and online questionnaire survey.

5.4.2.2.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

During the field work, I have carried out interviews with two sets of respondents: diversity managers of large organisations with more than 10,000 employees, and diversity managers of Ford. In these interviews, I have used a semi structured interviewing method. The use of this method was informed by the research philosophy, methodology and methodological principles in that the interviewing process sought to transcend the presumptions held by the respondents and researcher, and to provide insights into the relational and multilayered mechanisms generating the agency of diversity managers. The semi-structured interviewing method was chosen because it offers a wider scope of flexibility and spontaneity for respondents to convey their experiences and opinions, whilst ensuring a focus and structure throughout the interviewing process, (Arksey and Knight 1999).

The interviews aimed to explore the individual level dynamics of diversity managers' agency as well as to situate the agency of diversity managers within the context of the interplay of organisational and societal mechanisms. Accordingly, I have drafted an interview schedule on the basis of the issues highlighted in the mainstream and critical diversity management, and change agency literatures, which are reviewed in the Chapters Two and Three. In addition, the conceptual framework, which is provided and explained in Chapter Four, informed the themes and questions in the draft interview schedule. My doctoral supervisors had the courtesy to cast a critical eye on the draft interview schedule and provide me with feedback. Next step was to pilot the schedule. It was not feasible for me to conduct a pilot study with diversity managers as they proved to be a hard to access group. Instead, I piloted the draft schedule with five doctoral students so as to get at least some level of feedback regarding the clarity and order of questions. Then, I revised the interview schedule in line with the issues raised by my doctoral supervisors and feedback given during the pilot interviews. In addition, I made revisions to the schedule during the field work as and when I identified such a necessity throughout the interviews.

The interview schedule consists of questions on the respondents' role and status in the organisation; respondents' personal details such as functional, educational and demographic background, personal networks regarding diversity and equality; history of diversity and equality policy in the organisation; organisational diversity management structure, initiatives and programmes; level of integration of diversity management throughout organisation; monitoring of diversity policies and programmes (see Appendix III for the interview schedule and the key literature, which informed the schedule). 47 questions were asked under seven headings. Below, I provide a brief summary of each section and relate them to my research questions and themes.

You and your organisation

First section of the interview schedule aimed to identify the organisational positioning of the respondents. The questions and their probes explored diversity managers' job role and status, employment history in their organisations, role in organisational decision-making processes, relationships to senior management. At a more abstract level this section was related to cultural and symbolic capitals.

Diversity and Equality in Your Organisation

This section included questions which set out to investigate the state of diversity management in the respondents' organisations in order to understand the organisational *habitus* and subfield of diversity management. The questions also explored the impact of macro-social field of diversity management on organisational structures and practices. The respondents were asked questions about history of diversity management in their organisations and legacy of equal opportunities, organisational diversity management structure, diversity champions in the organisation, diversity management activities, initiatives and programmes, diversity management and organisational change.

Mainstreaming and involvement

Here, in addition to symbolic capital at disposal of diversity managers, organisational *habitus* and subfield are explored. Some of the questions were also implicitly related to macro-social field of diversity management. Here, the aim was to uncover formal and informal mechanisms, which influenced implementation of diversity management programmes and organisational support for diversity managers. The respondents were asked about integration of diversity objectives across their organisations, and ownership of and support for diversity management processes by senior and middle managers, employees and trade unions.

Monitoring

This section explored the organisational subfield of diversity management and impact of the macro-social field of diversity management on organisational diversity practice. The questions in this section focused on monitoring of the impact of diversity initiatives, and the business case for diversity management, i.e. costs and benefits of diversity.

Appraisal, recruitment and training

This section aimed to elicit evidence on mechanisms in organisational *habitus* and subfield in relation to appraisal, recruitment and training activities. The questions about diversity training programmes, demographic composition of workforce, equal opportunities in hiring, promotion and performance appraisals, were asked.

Future

The strategies of diversity managers are explored in this section. This section also linked these strategies to macro-social and meso-organisational dynamics. The respondents were asked about their evaluation of the state of their organisation in terms of managing diversity, their views on change agency, their strategies to ensure effectiveness and sustainability of diversity programmes, and the challenges of the diversity managers' job.

Personal details

The last section of the interview schedule aimed to understand the amount of social and cultural capitals that diversity managers own and sources of these. In order to explore the amount and sources of cultural capital respondents were asked about their educational qualifications, work experience, training on diversity management, and their demographic background, i.e. age, ethnicity, nationality, disability. The rest of the questions in this section focused on respondents' membership or involvement in intra- and extra-organisational networks.

In total, I have conducted 23 interviews. For all interviews, the same interview schedule has been used. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. I have tape recorded all interviews, except in two cases where respondents did not allow recording and I took notes. I have personally transcribed the interview dialogues in verbatim, which proved to be very time consuming as transcribing an interview took between six to eight hours. On the other hand, transcribing the interviews myself offered me the opportunity to recall the interviews, and while transcribing I have noted important

points made by the respondents, which then formed an initial basis of coding.

Within the scope of the case study, I have interviewed 12 respondents, who hold key positions in the design and implementation of Ford’s diversity management policy. The demographic characteristics of case study company respondents are summarised in the Table 3.

Table 3: Profile of the research participants from Ford Motor Company

	Branch	Position	Gender
1	Europe	Senior management	Male
2	Europe	Senior management	Male
3	Britain	Senior management	Male
4	Europe	Middle management	Female
5	Germany	Middle management	Female
6	United States	Senior management	Female
7	United States	Middle management	Female
8	North America	Senior management	Female
9	North America	Middle management	Female
10	Canada, Mexico, South America	Senior management	Male
11	United States	Middle management	Male
12	United States	Middle management	Female

Seven out of 12 case study research participants were female. Six participants were senior managers and six of them were middle managers at Ford. All twelve respondents assumed a key role in the design and implementation of the diversity management policy in American and European branches of Ford. In order to contact interviewees and get appointment for the interviews I visited the Head Office outside London several times, made several telephone calls and exchanged over 500 e-mails. The interviews with participants who were located outside the UK were carried out by telephone. For three of the remaining four interviews, I have visited the head office of Ford of Europe in Warley and carried out face-to-face interviews over a cup of tea in the staff canteen of the company. As he was my key access point to other respondents, I have met one of company’s senior diversity managers many times. I have had the opportunity to interview him twice, first at the very start of the field study and once more at the end so as to explore any issues which remained unclear in other interviews. Interestingly, my first interview with him was a telephone interview and the second interview took place in his new workplace which was a large public sector organisation.

In order to supplement the case study interviews and get an overview of diversity managers’ agency in different organisational and sectoral settings, I have conducted 11 semi-structured interviews with the diversity managers of large organisations in the UK. Table 4 illustrates the profile of research participants.

Table 4: Profile of 11 interview participants from large organisations in the UK

	Sector	Industry	Seniority	Gender	Ethnicity
1	Private	Retail	Middle management	Male	White British
2	Private	Retail	Senior management	Female	White British
3	Private	Petrochemical	Middle management	Female	White British
4	Public	Local government	Middle management	Male	White British
5	Public	Local government	Senior management	Male	White British
6	Public	Police	Middle management	Male	White Irish
7	Public	Governmental department	Middle management	Female	White British
8	Private	Banking and finance	Middle management	Male	White British
9	Private	Banking and finance	Senior management	Male	White British
10	Private	Banking and finance	Middle management	Female	White British
11	Private	Banking and finance	Senior management	Female	White British

All of the 11 interviewees were diversity managers in organisations with more than 10,000 employees. Four out of 11 were positioned at senior management level whilst the rest held middle managerial posts. Although all interviewees, but one, were White British, the respondent profile was relatively balanced in terms of gender, i.e. five female and six male respondents, and sector, i.e. four respondents from public sector and seven respondents from private sector. As indicated in the previous section, I have gained access to the respondents through the CIPD's reference. The CIPD has provided me with the contact information of diversity managers of 20 large organisations, which worked closely with the CIPD in the area of diversity management. I have sent e-mails to these organisations to request interviews. Simultaneously, an introductory letter was sent by the CIPD to the respective individuals (see Appendix IV). Eventually, 11 diversity managers were interested in participating in the research and indicated preference for telephone interviews over face-to-face interviews. I have interviewed them over the phone using the standard interview schedule. Notwithstanding the limitations of telephone interviewing such as lack of face-to-face interaction, these interviews provided crucial insights particularly into the individual and organisational dynamics of diversity managers' agency and their relation to the macro level social mechanisms.

5.4.2.2 Documentary review and observations

Documentary review and observations are suggested as important sources to triangulate interview data (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Saunders et al. 2003). Review of documentary evidence is important not only for triangulation purposes, which may arguably be questionable given the gap between policy and practice, but also documents set out the espoused objectives and can gain importance as sources of legitimacy for action (Healy 1997). This research includes an extensive documentary analysis of the grey literature of Ford Motor Company, and to a lesser extent my unstructured observations of the spatio-geographical and relational context of the company.

In terms of understanding the diversity management approach and practice, and therefore the positioning of the diversity managers at Ford, collecting and reviewing grey literature has been one of the important tasks of the field research. Company documents are an integral part of structural and interactional mosaic of organisational life. By representation and structuring of meaning, they communicate the dominant assumptions, values and norms, which underpin the organisational culture and structures (Barley 1983; Forster 1994). The value of documentary and textual sources for social research in exploring the interplay between individual and institutional factors is also cited in literature (Healy 1997; Townley 1990).

The documentary review within the scope of this work aimed to investigate the meso-organisational level dynamics of diversity management and their influence on the agency of diversity managers. As with other research methods, documentary analysis has its own limitations due to the fact that company documents may be incomplete or only partially accessible to the researchers. For that reason, it is crucial to combine multiple sources of data such as documents, observations and interviews in order to provide a more comprehensive, multi-layered picture of formal and informal organisational structures, and the agency of organisational actors as embedded in these structures. In my research, review of documentary evidence enabled me to cross check the evidence from the interviews with the grey literature of the company, fill in the gaps, and identify the ways in which messages and information were conveyed in textual form. Chapter Nine of this thesis, which provides an analysis of meso level influences on diversity managers' agency, is predominantly based on a review of the company documentations.

I collected company publications, such as newsletters, training programmes, diversity and equality guides for employees, managers and suppliers, reports, and strategy and policy documents, which were relevant to the research questions to the extent that they

were made available to me. Most of this documentation was publicly available. I could not get access to more confidential company documentation. For instance, for approximately two years, starting from the first day of my contact with the company until the end of field research, I have insistently asked for an access to Ford of Britain's Diversity and Equality Assessment Review (DEAR) reports as I was initially promised to be given access. However, I never had the opportunity to read these reports, which evaluate the outcomes of diversity management programme of Ford of Britain in terms of changing organisational policies, practices, structures and culture in order to promote greater levels of equality, diversity and inclusion. Partly due to the limited nature of the documentation that I could obtain from company representatives, I had also extensively reviewed Ford's website in order to explore the questions above as well as to gain a deeper insight into how the company represents itself and constructs its history.

In addition to reviewing the company documentation, I tried to take every other opportunity to collect data on the case of Ford, including observations and participating in company events. For instance, I participated in the Ford of Britain's Diversity Conference in 2006. The conference was open only to the invited guests who were representatives from trade unions, CBI, CRE and DTI, and diversity managers, who work for large companies across the UK. Thanks to my connections in CIPD, I was informed of the conference and participated in the events as a representative of CIPD. Participating in the conference was very useful as it gave me an opportunity to witness one of the public performances of the company in terms of representing their diversity management programmes and initiatives. Coincidentally, I met again one of the diversity managers, whom I talked to in my second set of interviews, which involved 11 diversity managers from large organisations across the UK. Taking the opportunity, I conducted an informal follow up interview with him in the form of a conversation. In such instances, I always took research notes in order to remind myself of my observations and occurrences that might be relevant to the analysis of diversity managers' agency. This brings me the issue of research notes.

I did not keep a rigidly structured and systematic research diary, but I noted down, after completing an interview, my observations and impressions. When I started to analyse the field work data, the research notes acted as reminders of significant or interesting points that were raised before, during or after the interview, as well as how I felt in different interview situations. I also noted my observations about the relational dynamics between my respondents and people in the organisation, including other

diversity managers of the company, and the spatial arrangements of the workplace. For example, my first research note relates to my surprise when I saw that there was an actual car on display at the reception area of the head office of Ford of Europe in Warley. In addition, research notes included entries of conversations that I made with respondents after the tape recorder was switched off. As an ethical choice, I did not quote these off the record exchanges in the thesis. However, they were instrumental for me to develop a deeper sense of understanding of the political and power ridden nature of diversity managers' agency. Overall, observations and the associated research notes informed the analysis chapters of the thesis as they provided me with a deeper and clearer perspective as well as insights to the unspoken dimensions of diversity managers' roles and jobs whilst I interpret and analyse the field work data.

5.4.2.2.3 Online national questionnaire survey

Online surveys are becoming increasingly popular in social science research (Solomon 2001). Conducting online surveys has some distinctive advantages over traditional mail, telephone or face to face questionnaire surveys including reduced costs (Couper 2000; Schaefer and Dillman 1998; Tse 1998; Yun and Trumbo, 2000), avoiding the time consuming task of data entry (Llieva et al. 2002; Watt 1999; Wittmer et al. 1999), and ability to access difficult to contact groups or individuals in distant locations (Braithwaite et al. 1999; Garton et al. 1999; Taylor 2000; Wellman 1997).

On the other hand, the biggest concern raised about online survey is associated with the fact that the method of online surveying may bias against people who do not have internet access or who are not familiar with internet tools, and this in turn may also lead to a class bias (Dillman 2000; Dillman and Dennis 2001; Kaye and Johnson 1999; Mehta and Sivadas 1995). However, within the scope of this PhD research, such a coverage bias was not likely since the majority of the survey population, if not all, presumably had a regular access to internet at their work places. Other limitations of online surveys, which are reported in the literature include self-selection bias (Stanton 1998; Thompson et al. 2003; Wittmer et al. 1999), multiple submissions (Schmidt 1997), and increased rates of non-response items (Sproull 1986). For the online CIPD survey conducted within the scope of this work, cookies, which registered the IP addresses and provide a unique identity to each respondent, were used in order to prevent multiple submissions. Similarly, the problem of high number of non-response

items was not apparent in this survey as participants were consistent in responding to the majority of the questions included in the survey.

The survey aimed to provide evidence on a wide set of diversity management issues in the UK. It is unique in the sense that it is the first comprehensive diversity management survey administered nationally in the UK. I have devised the questionnaire form as a multi-level tool incorporating broad macro-social issues such as external drivers for diversity for organisations, meso level organisational attitudes to, processes, mechanisms and systems for managing diversity as well as micro level dynamics involving the role of the diversity and equality officers in managing change. The themes addressed in the questionnaire were informed by themes in the semi-structured interview schedule, which I have summarised earlier.

Before being launched, the questionnaire was piloted at two stages. First, in order to establish content validity (Mitchell 1996), experts were asked to comment on the structure, style and content of the questions. Second, a pilot test, which helped addressing face validity (Saunders et al. 2003) concerns, was carried out with a small section of the CIPD members to find out about the clarity of the questions, respondents' willingness for and easiness in answering the questions, major topic omissions, if any, and the approximate duration of completing the questionnaire. Accordingly, the survey instrument was revised and refined in line with the recommendations and feedback received during the pilot study.

The final survey form was organised under ten sections, which were titled you and your organisation, you and your diversity role, work culture in your organisation, the diversity function in your organisation, diversity strategy in your organisation, diversity policy in your organisation, diversity activities in your organisation, diversity monitoring in your organisation, your evaluation of diversity management in your organisation, and your personal details (see Appendix V for the questionnaire form). The survey posed 75 questions, many of which included multiple item scales. Due to the vast amount of data collected through the survey, I followed a strategy of using the data selectively. This meant that for exploring the research questions, I analysed the variables, which were most relevant to the conception of diversity managers' agency within the scope of this study.

The survey was carried out electronically through a self completion online questionnaire. This was promoted on the CIPD website, by the EOC, Age Positive, CRE and other diversity networks, over a six week period from February and March 2006. Direct emails were also sent to 4,200 CIPD members who have expressed an interest in equality and diversity on their membership forms. Articles were also placed in CIPD's magazine, *People Management*, and other CIPD member communications. The research generated 285 completed questionnaires from people with a responsibility for diversity. The number of completed questionnaires can be considered favourable as the survey specifically targeted equality and diversity officers. In addition, in the light of their other online surveys and target group, the CIPD representatives suggested that response rate was favourable.

Calculated on the basis of the number of e-mails sent, the response rate was over 6 per cent. However, it should be noted that some organisations employed more than one CIPD member whilst the survey was completed by only one person per organisation. Furthermore, it is not possible to ascertain the rate of the e-mails which were successfully delivered to the recipient. It is hard to identify response rates for online surveys, as frequently cited in the literature (Andrews et al. 2003; Wright 2005). Another weakness of online surveys is the reportedly lower response rates compared to the traditional paper and pencil surveys (Andreson and Gansneder 1995; Crawford et al. 2001; Kittleson 1995; Schuldt and Totten 1994).

Nevertheless, the questionnaires attracted a wide cross-section of responses in terms of organisational size, location, industry, and sector. However, it should be noted that the CIPD was not able to provide a distributive profile of its membership in terms of sector, region and size since they do not desegregate their membership data according to these categories. Thus, it is not possible to comment on the representativeness of the sample. Table 5 summarises the distributive attributes of the survey participants.

Table 5: Profile of questionnaire survey respondents

	Percentage of respondents
Sex	
Male	21%
Female	79%
Age Group	
16-25	3%
26-30	11%
31-40	30%
41-50	42%
51-60	13%
61-65	1%
Managerial level	
Board member	6%
Junior staff	4%
Middle management	41%
Senior management	37%
Supervisor	10%
Sector	
Private sector	46.1%
Public sector	41.1%
Voluntary sector	12.8%
Organisation size	
250 or less	36.7%
251-1,000	24.0%
1,001 or more	39.3%
Region	
North-east England	4%
North-west England	8%
Scotland	12%
London	18%
Yorkshire/Humberside	7%
Midlands	16%
Wales	3%
South-east England	18%
South-west England	12%
East of England	5%
Northern Ireland	2%

The replies were received from 224 female and 61 male respondents from a broad age range and at different organisational ranks and diversity roles. The majority of responses were from private and public sectors (46.1% and 41.1% respectively), whereas voluntary sector organisations made up 12.8 per cent of the sample. There was an even distribution in terms organisational size with 36.7 per cent of the responses originating from small organisations with 250 or less employees, 24 per cent from medium sized organisations with 251 to 1000 employees, and 39.3 per cent from large organisations, which employ 1001 or more people. In terms of geographical location of

the organisations participated in the survey, England was numerically over-represented. However, the survey was completed also by some organisations located in Wales (3%), Scotland (12%) and Northern Ireland (2%).

5.4.2.2.4 Some concluding remarks on using a multi-method strategy

Given that each research method has peculiar strengths and limitations, the use of multiple methods strategy involving both qualitative and quantitative techniques proved invaluable for the exploration of different layers of diversity managers' agency in this PhD research. Despite the limited institutional access I secured in Ford Motor Company, the evidence generated during the case study was crucial for a realistic and contextualised understanding of the agency of diversity managers in a real life setting. On the other hand, semi-structured interviews, which I have conducted with 11 diversity managers from large public and private sector organisations, were instrumental in terms of obtaining rich and detailed narrations about the dynamics that shape the agency of diversity managers in different organisational contexts. Finally, questionnaire survey data enabled me to map out the field of diversity management, as it provided evidence from 285 organisations across the UK.

Notwithstanding limitations and weaknesses of each research method, what struck me, when I analysed the field work evidence, was the discrepancy between findings, which emerged from interviews and questionnaire survey. The common wisdom suggests that compared to a questionnaire survey, in which the research participants have to limit their responses to the pre-set questions, categories and variables, in-depth interviewing may potentially generate more transparent, better thought and more self-reflexive responses from research participants due to increased opportunities for them to narrate their experiences flexibly and creatively with less limitations set by the researcher. Thus, I expected the interview respondents to be more critical about their organisation and their experiences as diversity managers, compared to the survey respondents. Interestingly, the survey data offered a bleaker and seemingly more realistic, account of diversity management in organisations than the interview evidence.

One possible reason for this difference between survey and interview findings may be related to the differences between the organisations participated in qualitative and quantitative parts of the study in terms their profile. The questionnaire survey was completed by both SMEs, and large organisations. On the other hand, all interview participants were from large organisations with more than 10,000 employees, which expectedly would have more human and financial resources to commit to diversity management compared to SMEs, which might not even have a separate HRM

department or a human resource manager, let alone a diversity office or a diversity manager. However, the majority of survey respondents (86.7%) reported to be a member of CIPD, which is an organisation for HRM professionals, and chi square tests showed that respondents from SMEs were more likely to be CIPD members compared to their colleagues working for large organisations. This suggests that the majority of organisations, which participated in the survey employed human resource professionals, which indicates the potential availability of some level of resources for diversity and equality issues.

Apart from the impact of possible bias stemming from the respondent profile, my general impression is that survey results offered a more realistic account of diversity management practices compared to the interviews, where participants constructed their narrations predominantly on the basis of the positive aspects of diversity management in their organisations. This difference suggests that the narrations of diversity managers change in line with audience and medium. They present different stories when representing their organisations and explaining their institutional work in an interview situation and in the case of completing a survey.

The interview setting offers less anonymity compared to self-administered surveys due to the interaction between the researcher and the participant. Despite the fact that anonymity was ensured for the interviews, respondents might have felt less anonymous because of the nature of qualitative in-depth interviews. Taking into account that issues of diversity and equality are among the most sensitive ones for organisations, and that diversity managers' job involves marketing their organisation to the outside audience, my interview participants might have done during the interviews what they do in their everyday job: pitching diversity management, and presenting a positive picture of their organisations.

On the other hand, in responding to the questionnaire survey which is self-administered, the respondents might have been more likely to remain realistic and transparent in terms of their answers due to their perceived feelings of higher levels of anonymity compared to the in-depth interviews. Others also cite increased likeliness of realistic responses for online surveys as they tend to reduce socially desirable responses (Booth-Kewley et al. 1992; Kiesler et al. 1984; Kiesler and Sproull 1986; Sproull 1986). Thus, in reflection, using a multi-methods strategy was not only valuable in terms of taking the advantage of different strengths offered by each methods, but was also instrumental throughout the process of data analysis in helping me establish a critical distance to the evidence generated during the field research.

5.4.3 Data Analysis

One of the most difficult tasks that qualitative researchers encounter is the organisation and analysis of the empirical data. Coding is one of the most commonly used initial strategies in order to reduce the qualitative data into a manageable size prior to analysing it. The logic that governs coding is of abstraction from the empirical data. In this research coding was informed by both theory and empirical data. The approach I have adopted when coding the data corresponds to a point between middle range and grounded approaches. Layder (1998: 15) defines these two approaches as follows:

On the one hand, the middle range approach emphasises the importance of formulating theoretical hypotheses in advance of the research in order to guide the research and to give shape to any subsequent theorising after the data has been gathered. On the other hand grounded theory emphasise the importance of starting the research with as little pre-formulated theory as possible in order that it may be generated during the research itself.

In fact, these two approaches can be seen rather as ideal types than as existing in pure form in real research projects that generally represents a point in the continuum of two approaches. For instance, commenting on his field research on careers in the acting profession, Layder (1998: 57) says: “Although some of the core and satellite codes I was using emerged directly as a result of scrutiny of the interview transcripts, many of the others were already formulated or derived from the theoretical baggage I had acquired through prior reading and parallel theoretical labour”.

In a similar sense, I had pre-constructed codes informed by the orienting concepts, which were employed to formulate the research questions and to construct the research design. As discussed in the previous chapter, concepts of field, *habitus*, capitals and strategies as drawn from Bourdieu functioned as orienting concepts within the context of the research. These concepts informed the coding at the stage of the data analysis by bringing an order to the mass of information. In that sense, orienting concepts established the theory informed codes of the analysis. However, attending to the caution made by Layder (1998: 112-113), they were employed provisionally and flexibly:

Although the point of orienting concepts is to suggest lines of inquiry and theoretical thinking, they have to be thought of as entirely provisional in nature... orienting concepts must always be employed flexibly, with an eye to ongoing data collection or emerging theoretical ideas and must not become ‘sacrosanct’ or part of an analytic dogma that has effects of suppressing new ideas, concepts or lines of inquiry. The orienting concepts will does function

as a provisional core category- an analytic unit around which coding and analysis of data will take place.

So, the process of data analysis has been guided by the principle of openness towards codes emerging from the empirical data. The coding process was informed by emerging codes as well as the pre-established analytical framework and orienting concepts. Hence, the second source of coding was the empirical data itself. The codes emerged from the data included notions of discourse of inclusion, publicity, diversity managers' role as facilitators, part-time and full-time responsibility for diversity management, external versus internal recruitment into the job.

For the analysis of qualitative data, I employed the coding procedure developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). This procedure is based on reducing and abstracting the empirical data through three subsequent levels of coding, each of which increases the level of abstraction. The procedure consists of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. At the stage of open coding, data are examined in order to identify conceptual categories and theoretical possibilities (Punch 1998). Accordingly, open coding was the first stage of the analysis, where I closely examined the data, in order to identify key themes and categories. I started the open coding process as early as after completing my first interview. After the interviews and when transcribing the tape recordings, I noted the emerging codes from the data. Although the more comprehensive and systematic process of data analysis was not started until after I completed the field research, I started the initial data analysis as I conducted the interviews, and stopped collecting data when I found that I reached the level of conceptual saturation in terms of research questions and themes.

The second step in making sense of the qualitative data was axial coding. This stage involved reading and re-reading the interview transcripts as well as company documentation in order to identify relationships between the categories, that is the open codes, which were identified in the first stage. In that stage, following Strauss and Corbin (1990), my aim was to put an axis across data so that categories, which were established through open coding, could be interconnected with each other. This stage also involved further dividing the data into subcategories so that I can examine the relationships that emerge from the findings. Some examples of relationships I identified at the stage of axial coding were the comparisons between sectors, the relationships between power of diversity managers and organisational drivers for diversity, senior

management support, organisational diversity structures, the relationship between the amount of capital owned by diversity managers and their strategies.

Finally, the last stage of data analysis was selective coding, which corresponds to the highest level of abstraction from the empirical data. At this final stage, I conceptualised the relationships, which were identified at the stage of axial coding, at a higher level of abstraction. This involved identifying the core codes around which theoretical conclusions about the nature and boundaries of diversity managers' agency were generated. At this stage of the analysis, I generated an integrated, refined, comprehensive and multi-layered account of diversity managers' agency out of the mass of qualitative data, which were collected during the field research. In summary, for the analysis of qualitative data (semi structured interviews and case study company documents) I used pre-established codes informed by the orienting concepts as well as open, axial and selective coding strategies.

For the quantitative data analysis all questionnaire responses, which were initially collated in Excel format, were transferred to SPSS for purposes of analysis. It saved me a great amount of time to receive the data electronically from the web based survey mechanism. However, I had to define each variable and its categories in order to make data compatible with SPSS requirements. I recoded variables when necessary for the analysis. In addition, I carried out internal reliability (Bryman and Cramer 2003; Mitchell 1996) tests in order to assess the internal consistency of data. To do that I run Cronbach's alpha test in SPSS for the multiple item scales, which I intended to analyse, e.g. scales of drivers for diversity, organisational diversity activities, organisational support for diversity, organisational embeddedness of diversity, coverage of diversity policy and required skills for diversity managers. Tests results confirmed that data is internally reliable and consistent as values for all tests were over 0.8 (Bryman and Cramer 2003; Dewberry 2004).

Once data were ready for statistical analysis, I first retrieved frequency tables and basic distributional values in order to familiarise myself with the data and check for statistical tendencies. This stage of analysis was similar to the open coding stage of qualitative data analysis, where the level of abstraction was lowest and the aim was to identify meaningful conceptual categories. The quantitative analysis of the data also followed an exploratory logic rather than a hypotheses testing approach. This approach was facilitated as the survey instrument was very large with more than 200 variables.

Following the univariate analysis of the survey data, I conducted correlation and chi-square tests. Cross tabulations and test results for statistically significant relationships are collated in Appendix VI, as it was not feasible to include all tables and tests in the analysis chapters due to space limitations.

The aim of the bivariate analysis, i.e. correlation and chi-square tests, was to identify the significant relationships between different variables. One of the factors, which determined the types of relationships I tested, was the analytical framework, which informed the research from the beginning. For example, I checked whether sectoral and size differences were statistically correlated with other variables. The analysis of the survey data was also informed by the insights from the analysis of interviews and documentary evidence. At the stage when I started to analyse the findings of the quantitative study, the analysis of qualitative data was completed. So, I conducted statistical tests in order to see whether similar findings are evident in both qualitative and quantitative data. Thus during the data analysis, I followed an approach, which integrates, compares and contrasts evidence generated through multiple research methods. For example, Chapters Seven and Eight present an integrated analysis of qualitative interview data and quantitative survey data, whilst the analysis in Chapter Nine is based on documentary review and interviews. In the next section, I provide a self-reflexive account of the research process.

5.5 Research as a reflexive practice

As I have discussed in previously in this chapter, two of the five key methodological principles adopted in this research relate to reflexivity. Accordingly, this section aims to provide a self-reflexive account of the research process. In order to do that, I first provide my interpretation of the concept of reflexivity. Then, I move on to narrate the impact of my dispositions as a researcher on the research process.

5.5.1 What is reflexivity?

From the outset of deciding the wider area of investigation, any social research inquiry is shaped around the researcher's assumptions and convictions, regarding the nature of reality (ontology) and of scientific practice (epistemology and methodology). In other words, ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of the researcher frame the actual process of research and analysis. Interestingly, the general tendency in social science research is to leave those assumptions hidden, and instead to engage in

secondary order discussions of method and technique of study and analysis (Özbilgin and Tatli 2005). Bourdieu (1990a) warns researchers against “scholastic fallacy” and criticises the myopic tendency of social scientists when it comes to exploring their own scientific practice:

The unanalysed element in every theoretical analysis (whether subjectivist or objectivist) is the theorist’s subjective relation to the social world and the objective (social) relation presupposed by this subjective relation.

Contrary to the dominant practice, Bourdieu insists that sociologists must engage in a ‘sociology of sociology’ in order to expose the impact of their personal stories, stakes and dispositions, which shape their ontological, epistemological and theoretical presumptions (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). For Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1990a, 2003a) reflexivity is an organic part of any social research process, through which researchers would engage in a systematic and continuous cycle of reflection in order to break up with their tacit assumptions. Reflexivity is a key component of Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of ‘epistemological break’, which sets out to overcome the duality between objectivism and subjectivism. What Bourdieu means by ‘epistemological break’ is, in essence, a break with familiar conceptions of the world, which originate from individuals’ possession of a ‘spontaneous knowledge’ of this world and their unconscious internalisation of ‘everyday notions’ (Karakayali 2004). Epistemological break involves two levels of rupture, the first from the primary experience of the research participants and the second from the presuppositions of the researcher. The idea of a two-step process of epistemological rupture also embodies the seeds of the basic principles of a methodological tool developed by Bourdieu (2003a) in his later works: ‘participant objectification’, which engenders the reflexive and relational methodological ground for the social science research. Thus, Bourdieu contends that researchers could achieve a true epistemological break only through active denunciation and acknowledgement of their social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations of research (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Kenway and McLeod 2004).

The notion of reflexivity is adopted in several disciplines of social science, including philosophy, linguistics, sociology, psychology and recently in organisation and management studies (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2000; Calas and Smircich 1999; Cassell 2005; Cunliffe 2003; Easterby-Smith and Malina 1999; Johnson and Duberley 2003; Watson 1995). Scholars defined reflexivity as the process of reflecting critically on the

self as researcher (Lincoln and Guba 1985); as exploring the dynamics of the relationship between researcher and researched (Finlay 2002); and as coming to terms with multiple identities or selves that the researcher brings into the research setting (Reinharz 1997).

The researcher is positionally embedded in the academic and social fields, and brings his or her *habitus* into the research, as much as research participants do. Thus, the final product of the research, i.e. scientific knowledge, would be affected by the ideological and material situatedness of the researcher. The notion of reflexivity urges researchers at the very least to be conscious of their own social positions and dispositions within the social field. In this work, a research diary was used as an instrument of reflexivity.

Throughout the field research I took research notes when I thought that it was necessary. These notes were not always about my relatively detached observations, but they were also about my impressions and feelings. The research notes acted as a reminder of my feelings in different situations during the field work, when I made sense of the reflexive dimension of the research. In the next section, attempting to posit a critical distance to my self, I offer a reflexive account of the process of field research,

5.5.2 A reflexive account of the research process

My interpretation of reflexivity requires me to scrutinise the ways in which the research process might have been affected by my dispositions and biography, and my political and sociological standpoints. I hope that the narration in this section will help readers to have an idea on who I am; what has shaped my perspective; in what ways my perceptions of the research participants and their stories were affected by my positionality, stakes and future aspirations in the academic field.

I am Turkish, female and thirty-two years old. I come from a lower middle class family and my parents are retired teachers. I began my university education in an electronic engineering department, but then decided that I did not want to spend my life as an engineer, and that social sciences were much more exciting and fascinating.

Consequently, I completed a sociology degree at the Middle Eastern Technical University, which is a leading institution in the field of sociology in Turkey. I have been a devoted feminist since my first years in university. During my undergraduate studies, my feminist orientation was reflected in my involvement in several women's groups as a feminist activist and in various research projects on gender as a feminist researcher. After graduation, I have pursued a Master's degree in political science with

a dissertation project titled “Islamist Women in the post-1980s’ Turkey: Ambivalent Resistance”. Conducting an independent research for the first time was a very rewarding and insightful experience.

Following my master’s study, I started working for a not-for-profit women’s organisation, Ucan Supurge, which aims to promote networking, communication and cooperation between women’s groups and organisations in Turkey. During the years I worked there, I had the opportunity to gain first hand experience and overview of the women’s movement in Turkey. This experience was frustrating and disappointing at times, and ironically tamed my activist spirit and my somewhat naïve perspective.

Eventually, I started to consider a strategy to re-enter into the academic field and this coincided with the doctoral scholarship opportunity in the UK to study equal opportunities at the European level. This initial research topic was radically transformed during the first months of my doctoral study and narrowed down from a broad area of equal opportunities to a research interest on the interplay between diversity management and the organisational subfield as an outcome of my take up of the literature. When I reached the point of the transfer from MPhil to PhD stage, the aims of the research became more refined and the focus of the research was crystallised as the agency of diversity managers, partially as a result of research access issues.

So, how did my personal history affect this doctoral research? As a feminist researcher, I have been convinced that feminist epistemology and the accompanying feminist methodology, although not without their own limitations, provide researchers with fresh, powerful and emancipating tools for understanding, researching and changing social reality. In feminist methodology, the research process is not only a process of collecting data, but also, and more importantly, a process of experience sharing and awareness raising for both the researcher and the respondent (Harding 1987). Prior to my PhD, I have adopted feminist methodology in the research I have conducted in Turkey. These research projects involved interviewing women from different segments of society in Turkey, including working class women living in squatter houses and Islamist women. Throughout these projects, I have made the utmost effort to relate with the research participants at an equal level where my respondent and I can engage in a conversation as individuals who are willing to share their life stories with each other. Obviously, the feminist research process was not without limitations and such a

relationship between the researcher and research participants, in its ideal form, was hard, if not impossible, to establish.

Nevertheless, my attempts to use feminist methodology showed me that understanding of social research as a process in which the researcher openly brings her experiences, personality and beliefs into the actual interview conduct, radically transforms the field work making it an exciting, involving and emotional process. Such an understanding also gives the researcher the opportunity to better access the life experiences of research participants. Feminist methodology not only conceptualises the research exercise as a process of experience sharing and awareness raising, but also criticises the strongly held belief in objectivity, in which subjectivity brought into the research process by the researcher himself or herself is a taboo which should not be talked about or acknowledged (Reinharz 1992). Instead, feminist methodology and epistemology urges researcher to be self reflexive. Reflecting on my field work, I can hardly claim that the research process during my PhD was one of experience sharing and awareness raising.

Due to the positionalities and vested interests of the researcher, me, and of interview participants, diversity managers, it was not really possible to engage in an open, totally honest and transparent conversation. It was very surprising for me as a researcher to find out that the qualitative stories of diversity managers throughout the interviews presented a favourable portrayal of their job and organisations. Acting as the polished face of their organisations in the field of diversity management, the respondents might have been partial and not totally transparent in presenting themselves, their job and their organisation to an outsider, the researcher during the interviews.

However, it was not only the respondents who have been partial and non-transparent during the research process. As a researcher, I brought my own vested interests and dispositions, including the successful completion of the field work, into the research process. Securing research access to diversity managers and organisations for an empirical study of diversity and equality is, in general, a challenge for researchers due to the sensitivity of the subject. My first hand experience of this challenge particularly during the first half of my PhD immensely affected my attitude and strategies during the field work. For me, each single interview and research contact was incredibly important. Another challenge that I have encountered was related to the fact that I was an international student who was alien to the cultural codes and manners of the British society. However, I was born in a major cosmopolitan city in Turkey, and my

experience of migration to Britain did not involve a severe culture shock, which is often the case when the migrant person's socio-demographic context changes dramatically. Yet, as a researcher I was inexperienced in terms of securing research access and conducting field work in the British context. Czarniawska (1998) points out some common difficulties experienced by female, foreign or young researchers in negotiating and securing research access. Furthermore, I was a foreign national studying the British context. Studying the Turkish context or Turkish nationals living in the UK could have provided me with an advantage in terms of obtaining research access and establishing rapport with the research participants. In that sense, my research theme was a counter-intuitive choice and meant a steeper learning curve for me.

Adding to this, was the status differentials between me, as a foreign student living on a scholarship, and the research participants, as well off senior and middle managers working in large companies. The combination of difficulties of securing research access, and the nature of my and the research participants' respective situatedness in diverse cultural domains shaped the ways in which I have strategically represented my personality, views and experiences during the interviews. For instance, I have been affirmative rather than oppositional in my responses even in the cases when I disagreed with the views of the respondents.

Using Bourdieu's metaphor of game playing in relation to social interactions in the field, if one considers the interviewing process as a game, I have consciously played the card of international student who is in need of help and support as a strategy to gain a legitimate position in the field. This was particularly the case for my interviews with the diversity managers of Ford. Reminding the organisational gate keepers of financial and emotional difficulties of studying for a PhD in the UK as an international student and my family background of lower middle class has been influential in getting research access. At the downside, this has resulted in an unequal relationship between me and the respondents. The status gap was accentuated by my minority status in the UK and relatively low levels of economic, social and symbolic capitals that I had at my disposal. On the other hand, the power relations were more balanced in the case of the interviews with the diversity managers, to whom I have gained access via the CIPD. Obviously, the CIPD was considered as a respected and important institution by this group of research participants, most of who personally worked with the CIPD for their diversity work. To these respondents, I have been introduced as a CIPD researcher by the diversity adviser of the institution. This has lifted up my status in the eyes of my interviewees, providing

me with greater amount of social and symbolic capital, which, in turn, made the interviewing process less stressful for me.

It is also worth noting that when I started my doctoral research, I was not familiar with the general cultural context of the UK and the specific context of the diversity industry in the country. At the outset of the field work, I lacked culturally specific interviewing skills and insiders' knowledge necessary for fruitful and effective interviewing. During the period of my doctoral study, I have been involved in several other research projects. This involvement had two considerable impacts on my PhD research. First, my interviewing skills have been radically improved, since I conducted over one hundred interviews during my work in these project. In retrospect, I can clearly see how I grew in confidence in conducting interviews, and how the quality of the interviews that I conducted for my doctoral study, have improved over time. Second, these research projects helped me develop a personal knowledge and experience, and a sense of the institutional field of diversity and equality in terms of networks, different agendas and key actors. In that respect, my involvement in the diversity management work of CIPD and in two research projects funded by the EOC, a study on the state of equality and diversity in the private recruitment sector, and a scoping study for a diagnostic equality check, have established the basis of my understanding of the diversity management policy and practice in the UK. So, as a final note, despite the fact that this thesis is based on the analysis of the evidence gathered within the scope of my doctoral study, my interpretation of the research data was also grounded in my overall understanding of the equality and diversity context, which was partly an outcome of the insights I have gained through my extra-doctoral research activity.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter started with a discussion of main tenets of critical realism as the research philosophy. Then, I explained the research methodology of the study by presenting methodological principles and orienting concepts. The chapter also offered an account of Bourdieu's methodological, epistemological and theoretical views. Finally, I outlined the research strategy in terms of research questions and objectives, research design, data analysis and reflexivity.

As indicated earlier, this study is based on an understanding of agency as a situated and relational phenomenon, and sets out to offer a multi-level exploration of diversity managers' agency, which accounts for relations of power and multiple influences on

this agency. The critical realist philosophy fits with the approach and aims of this study, as it provides a multi-layered ontology and aims to overcome the dualism of agency and structure. Critical realism urges social researchers to uncover the hidden and underlying mechanisms, which shape social reality. In line with the critical realist philosophy, this thesis sets out to understand the underlying mechanisms, which produce the tendencies for the actual experiences and actions of diversity managers.

In order to offer a critical realist account of the organisational role, actions, decisions, power, resources and constraints associated with the agency of diversity managers in their situated and relational context, I used a multi-level analytical framework, as explained in Chapter Four, and utilised multi-methods strategy. The choice of research strategy and the specific research methods was informed by critical realist underpinning of this work. Although critical realism does not offer any specific methodology, it urges researchers to decide on research methods on the basis of the object of the study. My research aims to explore diversity managers' agency and sets out to do this in a multi-level and relational framework. Many of the mechanisms, which influence diversity managers' agency are unobservable and do not easily lend themselves to social scientific exploration. For that reason, combining both qualitative and quantitative research methods, I believe, give this study an advantage of exploring the issue at different levels and from different perspectives. As I explained in this chapter, in this research the data were mainly generated through semi-structured interviews, an online questionnaire survey and documentary review.

It is hard to uncover general tendencies in the field of diversity management from a limited number of qualitative interviews, whilst quantitative data do not offer as rich and in-depth insights as interviews do. In addition, through conducting a case study, this PhD research aims to understand the meso-level influences on diversity managers' agency in an actual organisational setting. In this study, use of multiple research methods is not seen simply as a tool for triangulation in order to cross-check the findings. Instead, true to the spirit of critical realism, this study acknowledges the value of insight gained from each method for exploring different layers of diversity managers' agency and for uncovering the hidden and underlying mechanisms, which shape this agency

The task for the rest of this thesis is to provide the analysis of research findings. The analysis in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight are informed by the semi-structured

interviews and online survey findings, and identifies the macro level dynamics of diversity managers' agency through investigation of the field of diversity management. In Chapters Nine and Ten, I analyse the evidence from the case study of Ford Motor Company in order to explore and explain meso and micro levels of dynamics, that is organisational *habitus*, and different forms of capital and strategies respectively, which exert influence on the nature and boundaries of diversity managers' agency.

Chapter Six

Analysing the Field of Diversity Management in the UK as situated in the Web of Fields

6.1 Introduction

As explained in the conceptual framework, which was proposed earlier, a field can be understood only by situating it in relation to other fields, which impact on it. In that sense, a field is only semi-autonomous since it is embedded in the wider network of fields. Thus, an attempt to understand the field of diversity management requires examining its situatedness in the context of other fields which contribute to the construction of it. In Chapter Four, I discussed that there are three such fields which exert influence on the field of diversity management: cultural field, which includes historical dynamics of discrimination, inequality and change in the labour market; institutional field, which refers to institutional structures regarding diversity and equality; and business field, which involves industrial sector and business environment. Reporting the findings of the field research, this chapter situates the diversity management field in the web of economic, social and business fields. The analysis is based on the evidence from 11 semi-structured interviews I have conducted with diversity managers in large public and private sector organisations in the UK.

6.2 Cultural field

The cultural field as it relates to the field of diversity management includes the objective historical structures of discrimination, inequality in the society and change in the labour market. Diversity and equality concerns and patterns of disadvantage in the labour market are historically constructed, and they draw the framework of diversity agenda at organisational and national levels (Cavanaugh 1997; Merrill-Sands et al. 2003; Özbilgin and Tatli forthcoming 2008; Prasad and Mills 1997). For instance, in her work, *Professions and patriarchy*, Witz (1992) offers a clear account of how exclusion and inclusion work their way through organisations' closure and demarcation strategies. Based on the case of the medical profession, this work demonstrates that prominent gender ideologies in society will exert influence on the actual processes and relations in organisations. Thus, the content and context of organisational diversity management policies and programmes, and the ways in which diversity and differences are defined, vary across cultures.

The significance of the historically constructed categories of 'difference' in relation to

the design and implementation of the diversity policies and activities was evident throughout the interviews. For instance, the diversity manager of a global financial company mentioned that although the company has a global diversity management policy, practice of managing diversity would vary from one country to another. She said:

At the moment we're developing a senior female training programme which will be used across the globe for our talented women, so that's what we would do centrally. Equally, within each of the business areas they have their own diversity programmes and objectives and they will be specific, so, you know, UK banking is one thing, but obviously we have half our staff actually based in Africa, and obviously the race issues out there are completely different, so, you know, there are different objectives and programmes for different countries.

These words demonstrate that the national context exerts an important influence on practices of diversity management even across different national branches of the same company. Furthermore, issues and concerns related to diversity and equality do not only vary nationally, but also locally. For example, the issue of religion in terms of catholic versus protestant split has dominated the narration of organisational diversity policy by the diversity manager who works for a public institution in Northern Ireland, whereas it was not been mentioned at all by the other diversity managers all of whom were based in England. It was apparent that due to the unique historical and political trajectory of the region where the protestant population has been socially constructed as the 'majority' while the catholic population has been pushed to the minority status, religion has come forth as one of the focal points of intervention in the diversity management process. Further down on a smaller geographical scale, the diversity manager of a large financial sector company argued that they set diversity targets for their branches in line with the local make-up of the labour market:

In some parts of the country, the geographical make-up and the internal reality within the business unit enables us to put a focus on a particular issue that wouldn't be relevant to all parts of the business. So clearly we couldn't set a strategy saying that everybody must recruit 40 per cent ethnic minority employees.

Then, he gave their diversity activities in Leicester as an example to qualify his point. He said that in Leicester the company runs various diversity programmes and activities targeting Indian customers and employees, because the city has a large Indian population. The diversity manager of a large supermarket chain made the same point in relation to prioritising between different possible diversity targets and activities:

We manage diversity on a case by case basis. For example our stores in central London where there might have more of an issue of ethnic diversity, they have to manage that on an ongoing basis.

The importance of demographic composition of the labour market for managing diversity is cited in the literature as a proof of the pressing need for diversity management (Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000). However, the demographic composition of the labour pool may also hinder the efforts towards an inclusive workplace. For example, in some cases, certain demographic groups may be interpreted as ‘negligible’ regarding the priorities of diversity management programmes due to their low numerical presence, although the experience of inequality and discrimination by the members of these groups may be even more remarkable. The interview with the diversity manager in a local government organisation was very informative in terms of pointing out to that pitfall. When asked about the selection and recruitment of diverse groups of employees and their respective representations in the internal workforce, he argued that the council is very successful regarding the gender dimension of diversity with high levels of female representation at all levels of their workforce, including the top management level. When I pressed for the workforce figures on ethnicity, he reluctantly accepted that the number of employees from BME backgrounds is low, because the town is a “predominantly white town”. He said that the demographic make-up of the town leads to difficulties in engaging with people from BME communities and, in effect, managers remain inexperienced in managing an ethnically diverse workforce. The diversity manager from another local government institution made the same point in a much more explicit manner and problematised the issue as follows:

The challenge for us always is our community. Our community in terms of traditional diversity around BME residences is quite low, it’s about four per cent. In our current organisation it’s about two per cent. So in the grand scheme of things, in terms of numbers and in terms of our population, traditionally diversity wasn’t seen as a major issue. Now it’s understood over the last four to five years that it’s much more of an issue in terms of working with inclusive communities and looking to work with hard to reach groups and all the issues around social inclusion.

He, then, put forward the undeniable influence of cultural field on the field of diversity management, when he argued that managing diversity requires a change in the culture of the organisation:

It’s slow and obviously we have to change the culture. But it will not happen overnight. It’s not only the organisation, the society. As employers sometimes we are coping with society at work and it’s difficult to make decisions about the society. It’s very difficult.

Clearly, these words show the impact of the culture of discrimination and inequality in the society on organisational subfields and the field of diversity management at a more

general and overarching level. However, the danger brought in by such a recognition of the impact of cultural field by the organisations and their diversity managers lies in the possibility of reinforcing a ‘passing the buck culture’.

6.3 Institutional field

The second field that impacts upon the diversity management field is the institutional field which refers to the institutionalised structures regarding diversity and equality. Institutional structures and actors that reproduce or combat inequality in the area of employment will have an influence on the handling of the issue of workforce diversity by organisations. Organisational diversity management policies are embedded within the context of employment and anti-discrimination legislation, and institutional actors in the field of employment, such as professional and legal bodies, and trade unions (Bradley et al. 2007; Dean et al. 2006; Healy et al. 2004a; Kirton and Greene 2000).

Despite the differences in each organisation’s definition of diversity which varied from the group based differences to individual based differences, it was clear from the interviews that the categories which are included in the UK anti-discrimination legislation, that is gender, race and ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious belief, age, and disability, set the content and targets of most of the diversity management policies and programmes of the organisations, which participated in this research. For instance, the diversity manager of the large supermarket chain argued that including religious belief in their diversity framework is the most significant challenge for them at the moment:

Religious belief legislation was a big change for us in terms of how we can be more accommodating to different types of religions and beliefs. I think as far as other changes, we’d always been pretty well attuned to sexual orientation, age discrimination. Our oldest employee is 79. So I think probably the biggest change was the religious beliefs one. That did change a little bit about how we approached certain requests for time off to celebrate different festivals and so on. That made us re-examine our policies in that respect and we are continuing to look at how we can improve.

The company’s other diversity manager mentioned the ‘religious fact-book’ that they have published and distributed within the company as an example of an initiative within that context. She said:

It has a calendar with different festivals, all helping to make our managers feel better equipped to know, to understand a bit more about what each event will mean to each religion.

On the other hand, diversity manager of a city borough council saw the recent age legislation as the most important challenge at the time the interview was conducted:

The other major challenge I think as an employer the impact of age legislation, the cultural impact of age in the way that we all through our own prejudices think of age. Not so young or old... And as a council, the issue of demographics of age in terms of demands for services around older people is a huge challenge for most local authorities about the elder care, about the need for the linkages between social care and health.

The issue of age was the most pressing issue also for the British diversity manager of the global energy and petrochemicals company. She said that the company has a global diversity and inclusiveness policy and that “The UK policy will incorporate both these global standards, but we would also make sure that we’re compatible with the UK legislation”. Thus, she pointed out that one of her major responsibilities is to implement new diversity legislation and to look at the “legislative aspect of the diversity and our reputation in the UK”

The impact of legislation on diversity policies was also evident in the interview with my respondent from the other local government institution. He argued that they amend their diversity and equality policy in line with the UK legislation and that currently categories of disability, gender, race and age, sexual orientation and religion are included in it. Both of his examples of successful diversity and equality initiatives were related to the relatively recent anti-discrimination legislation:

Older workers policy has been introduced 12 months ago in partnership with the unions. We ended the retirement age at 65 and people can apply to work longer. We have another initiative at the moment which is called supporting people in employment to provide more opportunities for disabled people.

All these examples and anecdotes suggest that the legislative framework plays a major role in the design of diversity policy and programmes of the organisations, which participated in the research, and catching up with the new anti-discrimination legislation is high on their agenda. The institutional field impacts upon the field of diversity management also through the medium of institutional actors. The interviews revealed that governmental bodies such as CRE; professional institutions such as CIPD and The Society of Personnel Officers in Local Services; employer initiatives and networks such as Opportunity Now, Race For Opportunity, Employers’ Forum On Disability, Employers’ Forum On Age as well as the trade unions exert influence on the organisational diversity management approaches and programmes.

All respondents noted their work with the CIPD which was not unexpected because respondents were contacted through the CIPD and some of them were part of the CIPD's diversity management action research group. Unsurprisingly, all of the respondents from public sector organisations mentioned their collaborative work with the CRE. The words of the diversity manager of a local government organisation exemplify this:

We have an equality standard. That's got five levels in it. It was originally around race and we worked it up with the CRE. A lot of councils have actually signed up to move forward in terms of their levels. When you get to level five, that basically means that your organisation has diversity and equality fully integrated with all of your business processes as an organisation and would have demonstrable evidence.

In addition, both of the respondents who are diversity managers in different local government organisations stressed the 'best value performance indicators', which are the national targets that are put forward by the Government and on which the councils have to report monthly. Similarly, they also mentioned the 'corporate performance assessment' which is an external 'inspection' of the performance of the councils by the Government and whose one of the key element is to review "the extent to which diversity is embedded within the organisation's day to day practice".

Conversely, only one of the private sector organisations, which was a large supermarket chain worked with the CRE. The diversity manager of this organisation mentioned the CRE when exemplifying the importance of collaboration with external networks and institutions in order to develop the best practice:

You know that we took part in the CIPD. Also obviously we belong to the employers' forum on disability, the employers' forum on age. And we network through these organisations quite extensively really to make sure that what we do is to develop best practice. So, for example, where we've done some ethnicity awareness training we worked with the CRE to get their input as well to make sure that what we're doing is along the right line.

Although the CRE was not named by other respondents from the private sector, all of them stated that their organisation is a member of several external diversity networks and forums including Race for Opportunity, Employers' Forum on Disability, Employers' Forum on Age, Opportunity Now, CBI's Equal Opportunity Panel, RRC Vanguard Network. The respondent from the global energy and petrochemical company said that these networks are crucial not only because they keep them up to date with the developments in the field but also they are important for benchmarking. Another

respondent, the diversity manager of a large financial sector company was very proud when he said: “We’ve recently been named as top performer in race for opportunity’s annual benchmarking survey”. Thus, diversity and equality networks are influential in setting the content and scope of the diversity management policies and activities in individual organisations. Both public and private sector organisations need to observe and be aware of the standards set by these external networks in order to be benchmarked and in turn, to have a good external reputation regarding diversity and equality.

Interestingly, the issue of partnership with trade unions was not as forthcoming in any of the interviews as collaboration with the CRE, the CIPD or membership in diversity networks were. The respondents mentioned trade unions only when asked. However, it should be noted that although at varying degrees, all of the participant organisations recognised the role of trade unions within the scope of the diversity work in their organisations. In general, the participants’ responses in relation to the role of trade unions were short and un-detailed, simply stating that trade unions are supportive of their organisations’ diversity policy. Diversity managers of only two private sector companies gave a more extended picture of their work with the trade unions. First of these was a large supermarket chain. I interviewed two diversity managers from this organisation and both of them emphasised the importance of partnership with trade unions. One of them argued: “The initiatives that we have we can do hand in hand really with the unions. It’s a way of sharing initiatives, sharing learning really”. The other exemplified the relationship between the company and the trade unions in the field of diversity management as follows:

They were supportive in the discussions we had with them. I mean they’re doing a lot of work themselves in terms of diversity awareness training for their field officers. And then we’ve kept in touch with them in terms of how they’re approaching it. Recently, they carried with us a carer survey, within our stores and with our people to see what sorts of problems people were experiencing in terms of caring. So we’re quite cooperative with them in a number of different areas related to diversity. We’re trying to work together.

The second organisation, whose diversity manager gave a relatively extensive account of company’s involvement with trade unions, was a financial sector organisation. On their relationship with the trade unions, the company’s diversity manager said:

We talk to them regularly and provide them with a formal update twice a year. But I think in truth we do extensive research directly with our employees and customers. The actual priorities that we tackle on an annual basis, we address consultation of our employees directly rather than needing

various trade unions. I think it would be fair to say we are really at the leading edge of equality and diversity. Unions are very interested in hearing what we have to say. They don't come to us and tell us what we need to be doing because I think they are quite impressed that we have such a robust strategic work in the case.

What is striking in the above quotation is the emphasis that the company does the employee consultation by directly approaching the employees rather than “needing trade unions” in the process. The idea of ‘direct consultation’ in that case and the apparently minor mention of the trade unions in the narrations of the other diversity managers from both public and private sector organisations reveal that employers associate diversity management with an individualistic conception of workforce. The dominance of individualist approaches and the understatement of collectivistic perspectives within the framework of managing diversity are also cited in the literature (Liff 1996). The identification of the diversity management approach with such individualistic perspectives also indicates a diminished role of trade unions when companies are dealing with diversity and equality issues, and in effect employees are located at the receiving end of the diversity management process, which relies primarily on senior management approval.

6.4 Business field

Finally, the field of diversity management needs to be situated in relation to the business field in terms of the dynamics prevailing in the business environment and industrial sector. In terms of the former, it is cited in the literature that to meet the challenges of the highly competitive business environment driven by scarce labour resources, and flexible consumer oriented production and service delivery, employers need to adopt diversity management strategies and policies (Adler and Ghadar 1990; Ashkanasy et al. 2002; Blazevic and Lievens 2004; Carroll and Hannan 2000; Loosemore and Al Muslmani 1999; Marable 2000; Soni 2000).

All of the respondents mentioned the twofold focus of diversity management policies in their organisations: the employees and the customers. The diversity manager of the large supermarket chain put forward the necessity to “meet the needs of people of all backgrounds” that as follows:

We are already a number one player in the UK market. To maintain that position and to continue to grow, we do have quite strong growth targets; we needed to reach out to a broader group of customers and broader group of people in the talent pool. So that was almost a business necessity that we

understood how people are different either from the customer point of view or staff point of view.

Similarly, the diversity manager of a large financial company said:

We want to maximise the talents of all our employees irrespective of their personal characteristics and we want all our customers to benefit from high level customer service and feel that the bank values them as customers.

In terms of managing the diversity of their employees all of the organisations reported that they are monitoring the recruitment and promotion rates of women and ethnic minorities in their workforce, and providing diversity awareness trainings for their employees and managers. The female diversity manager of the large supermarket chain stated that company's diversity approach enabled them to recruit people with different talent and skills easier. She explained this in the following way:

Now that we have more awareness about what different people want out of a job and career and also where we can find these people. For example, different advertising, recruiting people through word of mouth and taking referrals from existing staff is a great way to increase the number of ethnic minority staff in our stores.

The diversity manager of one of the local government organisations put forward that their staff profile is largely middle-aged and they wanted to increase the number of the young people who are working in the Council in order to serve the community better. He said that he hopes that their 'corporate parenting' programme which he sees as one of the most successful diversity management programmes, will help them to recruit more young staff in the future:

In local government we have a thing called corporate parenting. This relates to the young people who are in the care of the local authority for all sorts of reasons. We call them looked after children. One of the things we've done in the last couple of years as a council is to work with our looked after children to offer them with work placement and shadowing opportunities in order to fill in some of the gaps they may have in their teenage years.

In the interviews, one of the most frequently mentioned advantages of diverse workforce was its effect on service delivery. The diversity manager of a large public sector organisation in Northern Ireland argued that in order to connect to the community and provide better service, their workforce has to be representative of the local population. He said that within the scope of its diversity policy, his organisation runs positive action programmes to recruit and promote people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds as well as different age and gender groups to reflect the local

population. Others also pointed out the relationship between diversity of the workforce and enhanced quality of service delivery or customer satisfaction. For instance, the diversity manager of a large financial organisation commented on the issue as follows:

We have examples of branches where we've now got multicultural teams that better reflect the communities that they serve. If you're a white employee in Leicester, say, where you've got a largely Indian customer base, if you got Indian colleagues, you can talk to them and you can learn about the Indian culture. And I think a lot of informal education goes on which helps white employees serve their customers better. They've gained greater insight of different communities our teams being more diverse.

This example lends support to the argument made by Ashkanasy et al. (2002), who suggest that in the service-oriented economy employees need to develop the necessary skills and background for communicating with, and for understanding and meeting the demands of diverse groups of customers. Hence, employer may see recruiting employees from diverse backgrounds as a profitable strategy in order to appeal to different customer groups. The words of the same diversity manager make this connection very clear:

Diverse teams have definitely made a big impact on company as an employer and also as a service provider. Because as we get better at serving customers, responding to their difference and they are more likely to come back and buy products and services from us rather than from our competitors which makes us more profitable.

He discussed the impact of the company's flexible work arrangements covered under the diversity policy from a similar perspective:

Flexible working is another example where perhaps some years ago people who worked part time or wanted to work differently was frowned upon. But we've got now some really innovative examples of where whole teams of people working different hours and what that's meant is that offices can open earlier and close later because people are doing compressed working or so on. And our customers gained because offices are open from half seven to half seven. And business has benefited because it has not cost us any more money to do that. It's just groups of people who have arranged their working hours differently.

The shift from standardised mass production to flexible production and diversification of goods and services, and its relevance for diversity management are also cited in the literature (Chevrier 2003). In the interviews flexibility was one of the important themes particularly for the private sector organisations. For example, the diversity manager of the large supermarket chain stated that the issue providing more flexibility for both the

staff and the customers is the focal point of the company's future diversity management agenda. He said:

In terms of a kind of direction for the coming year, there's much more about how do we get more and more flexibility. How can we operate efficiently while giving our staff and customers the greatest level of flexibility that's in terms of the hours they work and what types of things we've got on our shelves.

However, flexibility has many forms and does not necessarily promote equality. Employers may use flexible work as a way to de-regulate work hours, and justify atypical and less secure work contracts (Özbilgin and Tatli 2007). Perrons (2000ab, 2003) notes that progressive potential of flexible work can be materialised only through linking it with work and life balance by socialising unpaid domestic and care work, and encouraging a fairer distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women. This implies that employers need to offer better childcare facilities and more opportunities of flexible work arrangement for higher paid or managerial jobs as well as for low-paid jobs (Perrons and Sigle-Rushton 2006; Sigle-Rushton and Perrons 2006).

The interviews with diversity managers from the private sector also identified that provision of diversified products and services in order to attract different segments of the market was an important part of diversity management activity in the sector. For example, the diversity manager of a large financial sector organisation pointed out that the customer side is an important component of her company's diversity management programme. She explained that the company was recently working with Stonewall in order to integrate the case of civil partnership into the bank's services and products:

We also look at the customer side, so we've done quite a lot of work for example with Stonewall on embedding a civil partnership into products and services and getting staff to understand the implications

Within the framework of customer diversity, the importance of collaboration between the diversity and marketing functions of the companies was also emphasised. The diversity manager of one of the financial sector organisation put forward that they work with the marketing department to do consumer research with their customers from different groups "about how well they think their banking needs are currently met to understand the gap in our provision of services and the kinds of products we offer", and to develop new services and products on the basis of this research. As an example he mentioned that the company has recently introduced a range of products and services for the Asian marketplace including a range of shariah compliant products for the

Muslim customers. Similarly, both of the diversity managers of the large supermarket chain talked extensively about their new product and service ranges which aim to meet the demands of their diverse customer base, such as promotions for religious festivals, Asian and kosher products. They said that within the scope of its “customer planned programmes”, the company specifically targets the “ethnic customers and older customers”. During the description of these products and services, the emphasis on profit and sales was striking as the justification for diversity management. One of them argued:

In terms of where we have had more diverse products ranges that inevitably driven additional sales in certain areas we have ethnic customer base. For example by having special promotions for festivals, we find out that by tuning into the local customer, we can generate more additional sales in these areas.

Again, other emphasised the profitability of diversity for the company as follows:

There are probably lots of different things that we can talk about but one thing that had the most impact from the business point of view is actually looking at our enhanced new range of ethnic products, which are obviously much more compatible with the needs of different ethnic minorities in the UK. Obviously you can see the increase in sales and increase in the profit that we get from those customers.

These findings show that attracting and satisfying a wider range of customers, hence increasing profit and market share, were among the key focus points of the diversity management perspective of private sector organisations. Interviews with the public sector diversity managers also suggested a focus on service delivery. Likewise, Thobani (1995) in her narration of her equality work experience in a London Borough Council draws a similar conclusion regarding the importance of linking diversity and service provision. Similarly, the interviewee, who was a diversity specialist in a national government organisation and who was tasked with supporting and helping public sector organisations in implementing diversity management programmes and policies, explained why diversity management is important for the public sector as follows:

The benefit is for the people who work in your organisation and the customers of your organisation. I mean in terms of the customers, if we talk about the public sector, we are not fit for purpose if we are not managing diversity effectively. Because the tax payer is diverse. And when you are talking about the diversity, you are talking about the majority of the population, not the minority. But I have to say that I do worry about the extent to which I’ve found people are really doing impact assessment. In

terms of policy making and service delivery, people are still taking a reactive rather than proactive approach.

Clearly, for her, the customer side of the diversity management process was as important as the diversity policies and programmes targeting the employees. She thought that public sector organisations need to take a proactive diversity management approach to service delivery to diverse groups in the community, as a part of organisations' social responsibility, if not for profit motive. In fact, most of the diversity managers from the public sector stressed their services, which target the disadvantaged groups in society, when I asked them about diversity management activities in their organisations. Examples of these included, working with young delinquents from disadvantaged social backgrounds in the case of the organisation in Northern Ireland; and programmes for older people and people with disabilities in the case of a local government organisation. The diversity manager of another local government organisation strongly pointed out that as a part of their diversity strategy they are monitoring the service take-up by different groups in the town. He said:

If we got things like education, social services, housing, then all of their mainstream policies would look at the impact of the service delivery or non take up of services by particular groups. Why BME women for instance in their community seem to get less access to certain types of activities.

One of the main differences between public and private sector in their diversity management approach regarding the products and services was in terms of the different motives that underlie their understanding. The focus of private sector organisations was profitability whilst provision of better services to wider cross-section of beneficiaries and social good were key concerns of organisations in public sector. Thus sectoral dynamics impact upon the field of diversity management by offering peculiar patterns of work organisation, regulatory structures, sector specific workforce composition and diverse traditions in the field of diversity and equality (Özbilgin and Tatli 2006ab, 2007).

The interviews I have conducted suggest that in terms of sectoral differences, the distinction between public sector and private sector had a key influence. The case of motivations for integrating the diversity dimension to service delivery and product development as explained above serves as a good example for that distinction. In terms of meeting the demands of customers from diverse backgrounds, the dominant motivation behind the diversity management programmes for private sector companies

is to increase their sales and profit, whereas public sector organisations are largely motivated by service delivery and the principle of social responsibility. Quoting again from the interview with the diversity manager of the one of the local government organisations:

We're working quite actively on that now at the community level. Our community development department work closely with local support groups, with particular local communities some of which have got BME residences who are in social deprivation. We've got education specialists who work with youngsters who need support in widest sense, not just necessarily about BME residence. In relation to our housing allocation and housing management policy, we've got diversity built into those in terms of social cohesion.

Here, the terminology used throughout the narration is also striking. In terms of service delivery, the discourses of public sector diversity managers differ largely from that of the diversity managers working in the private sector companies. For instance, there was no mention of social issues related to poverty, welfare and integration such as 'social cohesion' or 'social deprivation' and their relevance for diversity management in the interviews with the private sector diversity managers. On the other hand, diversity managers of the public sector organisations did not construct their discourses around the words of 'sales', 'profit' or 'growth'. Similarly, for the public sector organisations, social class difference forms an important category of diversity in dealing both with their employees and customers. Two of the diversity managers from public sector stated that social class is overtly included in their organisations' diversity definition. Conversely, diversity managers from the private sector organisations mentioned social class neither as a part of their organisations' diversity definition, nor within the context of their diversity policies and programmes. Thus, supporting Spender's (1989) theory of industrial recipes, which suggests that industrial sector shape the particular ways that managers apply judgement, the interview findings revealed that the business sector in which the organisations and respondents themselves are located have impacted on organisational diversity management approaches and individual discourses of diversity managers.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an analysis of the situatedness of the field of diversity management in the context of three other fields that impact upon it: the cultural field, the institutional field and the business field. The analysis in this chapter addressed the relational and situational aspects of the field of diversity management that is

overlooked in the mainstream diversity management research. The majority of managing diversity research originates from the US, and does not account for the empirical configurations of spatial, historical, cultural, economic and institutional structures, in its complexity, within which diversity management processes take place. The diversity management field does not materialise in a vacuum. On the contrary, it is embedded in the wider web of fields and exists in co-dependence with cultural, institutional and business fields. On the basis of the field research findings, this chapter elaborated the ways in which these three fields influence the field of diversity management.

The interview evidence revealed that the impact of cultural field has a major impact on the construction of discourse and practice in the field of diversity management. In that sense wider socio-cultural dynamics may have both progressive and conservative outcomes for diversity management. One of the striking findings, which emerged from the interviews, was that respondents thought that there is little that an organisation can do to challenge inequalities which reside in the wider society. Therefore, the extent of the organisational responsibility was often restricted to replicating the social order of diversity and equality in institutional settings.

At the level of institutional field, the impact of legislation, institutional diversity and equality structures and networks on the diversity management field were evident in the interviews. On the other hand, the role of trade unions was underplayed in the narrations of diversity managers from both public and private sectors. There was a sense that diversity management was dominated by individualistic approaches to labour relations instead of collectivist perspectives. This was coupled with a top-down approach, which located employees at the receiving end of diversity management initiatives. Such an ignorance of employee collectivism as a medium to promote equality, diversity and inclusion is indicative of the conservative tendencies in the field of diversity management.

In terms of the business field, first, the diversity management field was influenced by concerns associated with the business environment. The interview evidence demonstrated that these concerns were twofold: concerns over workforce diversity and concerns over customer diversity. Second, the characteristics of the sector, within which organisations were situated, had impact upon the field of diversity management. The research identified that the public and private sector split played a major role in

shaping the diversity management approach in organisations which participated in the research.

In the next two chapters, Chapter Seven and Eight, I draw on two field studies and analyse the internal characteristics and dynamics of the diversity management field itself by exploring three main dimensions that set the boundaries and define the peculiarity of the field of diversity management: discourse and practice (Chapter Seven), and professional identity (Chapter Eight).

Chapter Seven

Analysing the Internal Dynamics of the Diversity Management Field I: Discourse and Practice

7.1 Introduction

As I put forward in the previous chapters, this PhD thesis aims to explore and understand the scope and nature of diversity managers' agency. A multi-level understanding of this agency is only possible through the exploration of the diversity management field within which diversity managers' acts and decisions take place and gain meaning. In order to understand the field of diversity management, Chapter Six situated the diversity management field in the web of relation with other fields. However, our understanding of the field would be incomplete without an in-depth analysis of the inner logic of the very field itself.

Accordingly, in this chapter and the next chapter, I analyse the internal dynamics of the diversity management field, through comparative analyses of discourse and practice, and exploration of professional identity, in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight respectively. The analysis in both chapters is informed by the individual accounts of 11 diversity managers from large public and private sector organisations in the UK collected through semi-structured interviews and by evidence from an online survey which produced 285 completed questionnaires from diversity managers in the UK.

The present chapter focuses on the analysis of discourse and practice prevailing in the diversity management field, and explores these two dimensions that reproduce the field of diversity management and which, at the same time, are reproduced by it. The exploration of the dimensions of discourse and practice also provides an answer to the question of "what do diversity managers do" in words and action. Finally, in the conclusion section, I briefly discuss whether it is legitimate to talk about the existence of a separate field of diversity management. The analysis that is offered in this chapter, which explores and compares the prevailing patterns of discourse and practice in the field of diversity management, is important as it helps conceptualise the underlying mechanisms that produce the tendencies for diversity managers agency. The chapter also provides compelling empirical evidence against simplistic, ahistorical, acontextual

and apolitical notions of diversity management in the literature by uncovering the complex and contested nature of the diversity management field.

7.2 The discourse of diversity management

The analysis of dominant discourses in any field is crucial in order to understand the interrelationship between words and action, the ways in which words are translated into action, and actions transform the discursive space (Hamilton 2001). Hence, in this section, I provide an analysis of the main components of the diversity management discourse in the UK, which will then help make sense of the state of diversity management practice as well as the gaps between the words and actions in the second section of the chapter.

During the interviews, I encountered a strong evidence of a blue print terminology used by the diversity managers particularly in private sector in terms of their definitions and narrations of diversity management. The dominant discourse of diversity was webbed around business case arguments, a top-down approach, which regards senior management support as most prominent, and individual-based, apolitical definitions of difference.

7.2.1 The discourse of diversity management as informed by business case arguments and a top-down approach

The aim of this section is to analyse the data collected on the business case arguments for diversity management. The section outlines the key parameters of business case rhetoric, which dominated the narrations of diversity managers, who participated in the research. The section also offers insights into the differences between participants from public and private sectors in terms of their emphases on and understanding of the business case for diversity management.

To start with, one of the striking findings, which emerged from the interviews, was that all respondents from private sector organisations claimed that there has been a shift from equal opportunities to diversity management in their organisations. A respondent from a large financial organisation narrated how this shift has taken place in his company as follows:

Initially it was equal opportunities. I suppose it was at the time of the merger that gave us a really good opportunity to agree how the new organisation would manage diversity. Again I think we were slightly ahead of the game

because we realised that we had a certain amount of success with equal opportunities. That relied on the good will of the managers and it was almost most felt that it was the right thing to do, but some felt that it was a bit more of an HR issue. So we took the decision back in the 1996 that our equal opportunities programme would very much be linked to business performance and we'd achieved a representative workforce, and made sure that all our customers get the same high level service. We wouldn't specifically push the legal argument or the moral argument, ethical argument. I mean they are all important, but we took the decision that we needed to really focus on the business case. And I think by showing line managers this is a business issue like any other business issue actually enabled us to make progress perhaps faster than some other organisations... We were one of the earlier organisations that saw the commercial benefits of this kind of approach. We not only looked at the UK but also looked very much at what's happening in the States, how successful companies over there put more focus on the business case approach and they were the ones who tended to be making the most progress quicker.

This company is one of the first organisations which have adopted the US originated diversity management approach in the UK. As clearly stated by the respondent, the shift from equal opportunities to diversity management framework also brings out the shift from ethical and legal case arguments to business case arguments. Same respondent explains that using business case argument enabled them to implement and gain support for diversity management programmes and policies in his organisation:

There is always direct payback to the business which is why I think these programmes are so popular. If we can show managers that diversity will make some of their business easier, then they clearly want to be part of the bank's program. In some parts of the country for example, the turnover of ethnic minority employees has been higher than that what we'd have hoped... Well if managers constantly have to recruit and develop new employees because they can't keep the ones they have, it's very very time consuming, obviously taking their eye off running their business. If we can help them understand their workforce better, manage their workforce better, then clearly the business case is overwhelming and it's very easy to engage people. Similarly on the customer side as well, they have targets to meet, well if we can open new markets which make it easier to achieve these targets then clearly they can see the relevance of diversity and will totally embrace it. Everything we've done has been linked to very specific business case which has not really made it a challenge to get our middle managers' support.

Similarly, the respondents from a large retail company emphasised that there is a strong business case for diversity management in terms of both employee and customer relations. They claimed that diversity management policies and programmes provided the company with a competitive edge for maintaining their market position, entering into new markets and designing new product ranges through reaching "out to a broader group of customers and broader group of people in the talent pool".

The diversity manager of a private financial organisation pointed out that it is an absolute requirement to make a strong business case for achieving organisational change. She also thought that convincing different organisational actors regarding the tangible benefits of diversity is one of the biggest challenges for diversity managers:

You know, giving people a reason to change... I think that's the real challenge, because at the end of the day if you've got a whole bunch of talented people and yes ok you might know that you're excluding a couple of people who maybe can't work full time, equally, if you've got enough talented people, there's no sort of burning platform, there's no reason to do things differently. Why would we then do something differently? Tangible benefits, you know. If you know the increased customer and staff satisfaction or if you can say that the average number of companies who use this will see a reduction in their recruitment costs of x per cent and then there are real tangible benefits which are either commercial benefits or avoidance of legislation. Not avoidance of legislation. Avoidance of getting a legislative bonk!

She, then, gave an example about the business case for work life balance in order to clarify her point:

Why men and women might leave? If we are losing half of our talented women because of work life balance issues... Now how does that cost us in replacing those people? Well, you know, lots of money! So I think that would be quite useful for the impact of say work life balance on the actual business.

The diversity manager of another large financial organisation also reported that pitching diversity management through business case arguments is the starting point for getting senior and line managers involved in the process:

People always start with that. So you know, obviously, all the usual staff around serving all of our customers effectively, giving ourselves the widest possible choice of good candidates for jobs and obviously then there's also there's the avoidance of costly legislation and brand reputation damage as well.

Another research participant who works as a diversity adviser and trainer in a large public sector organisation thought that the business case for diversity is very obvious for not only private but also public sector organisations. Frustrated with the rarity of proactive approaches to diversity management in the UK context, she argued:

Actually it's daft not to do that. First of all if you take an internal focus how silly is that if you're not maximising the contribution of the people who work in the organisation and letting silly barriers and bad management practices to prevent that... So the business case is absolutely clear.

Unlike the diversity managers from the private sector whose narrations were dominated by the business case justifications, all respondents from public sector, but one, displayed a more reserved attitude in terms of engaging with the business case rhetoric. Still, it was evident throughout the interviews that business case arguments are gaining popularity in the public sector too. There was an agreement between the respondents from the public sector over the necessity of making a business case in order to attract senior management support and financial resources for equality and diversity initiatives, as “value for money” has increasingly become the most important criteria to scrutinise the performance in the public sector. The respondent from a local government organisation explained the increased use of business case arguments in the recent years by the local authorities with the following words:

Increasingly I think we use the business case. I wouldn't have said that a few years ago. I think from a local authority point of view, we would have said we would go for the ethical, moral, the social responsibility. To some extent social responsibility as a local authority is still pretty high in our agenda. But I think the way that we now use targets, you know, the business case for doing a lot of things becomes far higher in our agenda.

Another respondent from the public sector argued that there are business benefits of diversity which organisations capitalise:

For me working with a broad cross section of colleagues really adds to colour and dimension to working, to creativity, to innovation, to management. So I think it adds a very powerful dimension to working life and to success of our organisation. They are very difficult to measure and in truth I wouldn't be in a position to nail it down in hard terms. What I do know, we run an employee survey every couple of years. Satisfaction rates amongst our employees are very high for the public sector. Evidence of team working and sharing also comes out very very high. I think this evidence that working in an open environment where people have dignity and respect towards one another actually pays off.

It was evident in the interviews that diversity managers from public sector put far more emphasis on benefits of workforce diversity in terms of improving the social and relational fabric of their organisation, compared to their colleagues in the private sector who capitalised on direct and tangible impact of diversity on the bottom line. One of the respondents from the public sector argued:

Subjectively I think the impact of having a diverse culture within the organisation means in affect the whole environment that you work in I think improves, standards, relationships, tolerance and respect grow when you've got diverse bunch of people you're working with rather than a stereotypical bunch.

Nevertheless, gaining senior management support has been uttered by all respondents as crucial for the success of any diversity management initiative. This point is made by a respondent with the following words: “you have to talk the language of your organisation to actually get the business case across either for additional resources or for a programme of change”. However, respondents from public and private sectors followed different strategies to get the senior managers involved. Respondents from the public sector frequently emphasised the employment legislation and equality standards that have to be adopted by public sector organisations as important components of the business case. For instance, the respondents from a large local government organisation explained how useful the Equality Standard for Local Government developed by the CRE is in getting senior management support as follows:

We have best value performance indicators which are national targets and one of them relates to the equality standard. I think most of our senior managers understand this. At the end of the day it’s about engendering the support and commitment of key decision makers in your organisation.

On the other hand, one of the research participants from private sector who claimed that there is sponsorship for diversity management at the highest level of the company, said that the company’s centralised diversity management programme has been initiated by the CEO who would like to know “how representative the company of the UK workforce and our customers”. In a similar vein, the respondent from a large financial organisation argued that it was only through a strong business case that they were able to gradually increase the resources devoted to diversity management:

At that time (when the diversity office has been established) we had probably three or four people in the central team which has now grown substantially. I guess we’ve only been given additional resource to deliver the programme because the top management of the bank recognised the value that a comprehensive, robust diversity strategy can have on the bottom line performance.

The respondent who is the diversity manager of a global financial company for six months and who comes from a frontline and marketing background believed that her skills in marketing has been very valuable in communicating business case for diversity across her organisation. She further argued that the diversity management and marketing share many similarities and that this was one of the reasons for her recent decision to pursue a career in the field of diversity management:

Diversity is not dissimilar to marketing. It’s about, you know, presenting a case for doing something and then making sure it’s communicated effectively and that people buy into it. It’s taking skills into an area that I personally feel

quite strongly about. Commercial benefit of course is something that I feel committed to personally.

In summary, the findings suggest that the discourse of diversity management in the UK is influenced and inspired by the US originated neo-liberal managing diversity perspective, which treats workforce diversity as a commodity that will be subjected to cost and benefit calculations. In other words, the lexicon of the diversity management discourse is shaped by business case arguments, which prioritise needs of business, and is based on a top-down approach, which emphasises the role of senior management within the process of managing diversity. Potential implications of this focus on the bottom line and of the predominant attention to the role senior management as decision-makers for diversity management approach in terms of affecting change in organisations were further discussed in Chapter Two. The next section analyses the second component of the diversity management discourse, the individually-based definition of diversity, and explores how the most important concepts in the lexicon of diversity management, i.e. diversity and difference, are defined.

7.2.2 The discourse of diversity management based on an individually-based approach to difference

In this section, I offer an analysis of research findings, which provided insights into how diversity and difference were defined by diversity officers from large public and private sector organisations. The analysis also pays attention to the differences between public and private sectors as the public-private split repeatedly emerged as a significant factor in terms of shaping the discourses, which were adopted by interviewees.

Interview evidence identified that in addition to the business case rhetoric and top-down approach, which were discussed in previous section, an individually-based definition of difference was another key component of the diversity management discourse.

However, as in the case of adoption of business case arguments, interview evidence shows that there is a difference between public and private sector in terms of definition of diversity. When I asked them how they define diversity in their organisations, all respondents from public sector, except one, confined their definition of diversity to the categories of structural inequality covered by the anti-discrimination legislation in the UK:

We've got sexual orientation, age, social class, race, religion, marital status, gender, disability.

It is about the service users and employees, disability, gender, race and age, and obviously sexual orientation, religion everything. As more legislation came on line we amend it.

Only one of the respondents from public sector has a different view of diversity in terms of its coverage. She is a diversity adviser and trainer in a large public sector organisation and she commented as follows:

There is tremendous misunderstanding out there about what diversity is. Diversity doesn't replace equality. Equality has a legislative focus and the law will inevitably lump people into groups. And law will also enable people to address barriers and to take positive action measures. Whereas diversity is much more inclusive, it's aspirational, it's about nurturing potential. And it's also about utilising difference.

This respondent's words, indeed, echo the prescriptive literature on managing diversity. Furthermore, her understanding of diversity was more in line with the popular perception of diversity and difference in the private sector, than in the public sector despite the fact that she works in the public sector for a governmental department. The general tendency among the research participants who work in private sector organisations was to define diversity on the basis of individual differences. In a nutshell, the respondent from a large global petrochemical company said that diversity is understood in her organisation as "all the ways in which we differ". She argued that this understanding of diversity largely differs from equal opportunities approach since it includes not only visible differences but also invisible ones:

The global diversity group have produced some really good literature. It's a really really good leaflet. It shows an iceberg: the things that you can see above the waterline like race and gender, the things below the waterline such as sexual orientation.

On the other hand two respondents from a large retail company provided a more detailed definition of how diversity is understood in their organisation. Making an individual based definition of diversity, the male respondents described the company's understanding of diversity as follows:

I think it stands out as everybody is welcome at XXX. Instead of treating everybody the same it's more about celebrating the differences and to make sure that we are in business as a whole tuned into those differences and how to use that to everybody's advantage from employees' point of view, customers' point of view.

Adding to this, the female diversity manager of the company explained how the company's approach evolved from equal opportunities to diversity management:

Until about just three years ago, like many companies, our main concentration was on equal opportunities rather than diversity... Our biggest learning in defining diversity is to make it more values based statement. We have a series of values. The one that we have overall is to treat people as how they would like to be treated... So, it's about making sure that you don't alienate people with your message, which is again why we thought "everyone is welcome at XXX".

Furthermore, the male diversity manager pointed out that the company does not want to be "too sophisticated in its messages" and aims to keep its diversity message as simple and broad as possible. However, the female participant argued that diversity sometimes conflicts with company's philosophy of "keeping the things simple", since it may bring complexity into operations. She explained as follows:

The way that XXX is run is all about trying to keep things as simple as possible. Sometimes when you are looking to the diverse and making everything you do more flexible, actually that adds complexity into the business. A real kind of dilemma in terms of making sure that whatever we do meet different people's needs. That's too much complexity. I hate to say this but sometimes when you're doing the things in lots of different ways, that adds another cost. We need to be quite wary about not being too complicated, about making it work for whole business and not just for each individual.

This example brings out the question of how genuine and realistic the claims of "celebrating the differences" and "tuning whole business into those differences" are. Still, at the level of discourse, individual based definition of diversity seems to be the only game in the town at least in the case of private sector organisations. The research participant who works for a large financial organisation defines diversity as follows:

I think, in XXX, the diversity would be that we want to maximise the talents of all our employees irrespective of their personal characteristics and we want all our customers to benefit from high level customer service and feel that the bank values them as customers. Initially it was used to be about gender, race and disability. We focused on those three areas. But over time we moved a lot more to educating managers around non-visible differences. You know diversity in its truest sense that everybody is different. Even a group of white men is different. And just helping line managers manage teams better and clearly we still put a focus on gender differences or racial differences. But it's beyond that a lot more now and we've broken away from the traditional equal opportunities groups to recognise that everybody is different.

This definition of diversity clearly displays a break from the equal opportunities approach in terms of sole focus on business benefits and lack of any reference to the

issues of discrimination as well as the political nature of difference. It is exactly that type of understanding of diversity management which is criticised by some scholars as a new-right response to the ‘political correctness’ lobby of liberal policies which attempts to depoliticise the gender and racial conflicts in the organisations (Prasad and Mills 1997; Lorbiecki and Jack 2000). Interestingly, the respondent above mentions between the lines that although they have “broken away from the traditional equal opportunities groups to recognise that everybody is different” and move to “invisible differences”, they “still put a focus on gender differences or racial differences”.

These examples from private sector companies show that the discourse of diversity management both in terms of business case argument and individually-based definition of difference does not always match the practice of diversity management. The potential mismatch between discourse and practice brings out the necessity of exploring the actual practice of managing diversity in organisations as an analysis of the diversity management field, which solely focuses on the discursive sphere, will be incomplete and misleading. Thus, I elaborate the discrepancies between the discourse and practice at length in the next section, where the analysis focuses on what is actually done in the organisations in terms of diversity management.

7.3. The practice of diversity management: question of authenticity

I have demonstrated in the previous section that the discourse of diversity management, particularly in the private sector, is to a large extent influenced by a neo-liberal discourse, which emphasises the business case for diversity management and individualises the notions of difference and diversity. Within the scope of this discourse, diversity is treated as a marketable product and as a resource, which contributes to the bottom line. Thus, diversity concerns are deemed relevant as long as they relate to the profit and cost considerations. Another pertinent feature in narrations of diversity managers from private sector organisations was related to understanding of difference and diversity. Diversity and difference were reduced to the level of individuals, which rendered structural inequalities and group based disadvantage invisible. So, the curious question is to what extent the discourses of diversity management matches the practices of managing diversity. This section of the chapter deals with the question of whether the practice of diversity management is fed from the same sources as its discourse.

In the mainstream academic and practitioner circles alike, there is a tendency to view equal opportunities and diversity management as opposing poles, whilst in practice the two approaches have many similarities (McDougall 1996). As Parker (1999) and Lawrence (2000) state, the business case argument are utilised also in the equal opportunities framework, even before the diversity discourse come to the fore. On the other hand, despite the emphasis of individually based differences in managing diversity approaches, organisational diversity programmes are most of the time based on group-based differences and not dissimilar to equal opportunities initiatives and programmes (Liff 1996). Thus, there is a need to explore to what extent discursive differences between the two approaches are translated to different practices. Within that framework, as I explain below, the survey and interview evidence suggest that the alleged move from equal opportunities to diversity management was primarily at the level of discourse, whereas, at the level of practice, it was not associated with a shift from compliance driven approaches to business case driven diversity approaches in the UK context.

The evidence from this research highlights that the practice of diversity management displays more similarities than differences to that of equal opportunities. The research findings suggest that the practice of managing diversity is largely influenced by and conforms to the equal opportunities framework, despite the predominance of neo-liberal rhetoric in the diversity management discourse, which is based on the business case, top-down approach and individual-based notions of diversity and difference. Accordingly, drawing on the findings of a questionnaire survey filled in by 285 diversity and equality officers, and 11 semi-structured interviews conducted with the diversity managers of large organisations, this section aims to explore the practice in the diversity management field in the UK, and to critically compare and contrast the discourse and practice prevailing in the field.

7.3.1 Why do organisations have diversity management programmes and policies?

In the earlier section, the analysis of semi-structured interview evidence revealed that the business case rhetoric is one of the main components of diversity managers' discourse particularly in the case of private sector organisations. Similarly, in the literature it is argued that diversity management represents a shift from equal opportunities approach's focus on representation and legislation to inclusion, and a voluntary and proactive stance regarding the organisational change. In other words, it is

frequently claimed that diversity management is marked by a voluntary approach by employers and that it has come forth by the business realities of the era, rather than a legal enforcement by the state that is associated with equal opportunities practices (McDougall 1996; Thomas 1990).

However, the evidence from the questionnaire survey revealed that business benefits of workforce diversity are not considered by the UK organisations as key drivers for diversity management programmes and policies. One of the sections of the survey aimed to explore the key drivers for diversity management in organisations. Respondents were asked to rank 17 statements from one to five according to their importance in terms of being key drivers for diversity management in their organisations. The respondents were allowed to rank different statements at the same rank. Table 6 summarises the responses to these 17 statements.

Table 6: What are the key drivers for diversity in your organisation? Please select all that apply (top 5 ranked from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important)

Drivers	Percentage of respondents					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Legal pressures	32.3	12.6	6.0	4.9	11.9	67.7
To recruit and retain best talent	13.3	16.5	18.6	8.1	7.4	63.9
Corporate social responsibility	12.6	16.8	15.1	11.2	6.7	62.4
To be an employer of choice	15.4	14.7	14.4	10.2	7.0	61.7
Because it makes business sense	16.8	14.0	13.7	7.4	8.1	60.0
Because it is morally right	13.3	10.5	15.1	9.5	10.5	58.9
To address recruitment problems	8.4	11.2	12.3	8.4	7.0	47.3
Belief in social justice	8.8	11.2	11.9	8.8	5.3	46.0
Desire to improve customer relations	5.3	8.1	14.7	7.7	7.4	43.2
To improve products and services	9.5	8.8	13.0	4.6	6.7	42.6
To improve creativity and innovation	5.6	8.1	14.0	8.1	6.7	42.5
Desire to reach diverse markets	6.0	6.7	11.2	7.4	8.4	39.7
To improve corporate branding	5.3	7.0	13.0	6.7	5.3	37.3
To enhance decision-making	2.8	8.4	14.7	4.9	4.2	35.0
Trade union activities	2.8	4.2	7.7	6.3	11.2	32.2
To respond to the competition in the market	5.6	6.0	9.5	6.7	3.9	31.7
To respond to the global market	5.6	2.5	8.4	5.6	7.4	29.5

Number of valid responses: 285

Interestingly, although the literature claims that diversity management thrives on a business case argument, the study findings suggest that diversity management is indeed predominantly driven by legal compliance concerns. The survey results showed that the most important motivation for managing diversity is ‘legal pressures’ with 68 per cent of the respondents are ranking it among the top five drivers. On the other hand, 60 per

cent of the respondents ranked the statement ‘because it makes business sense’ among the top five drivers for diversity management in their organisations. Other high ranking drivers were ‘to recruit and retain best talent’ (63.9%), ‘corporate social responsibility’ (62.4%), ‘to be an employer of choice’ (61.7%) and ‘because it is morally right’ (58.9%).

In addition to the general statement of ‘because it makes business sense’, the survey question specified different dimensions of business benefits of diversity management in line with the propositions put forward in the diversity literature. This included the so-called business benefits of diversity such as helping to meet the demands of diverse customers and increasing market share (Cox and Blake 1991; Fernandez 1991; Morrison 1992); enhancing labour relations, and recruitment (Cox 1993; McEnrue 1993; Morrison 1992; Woods and Sciarini 1995); responding to the needs of global markets and competition (Adler and Ghadar 1990; Chevrier 2003; Marable 2000); improving the quality and performance of internal workforce in terms of skills, creativity, innovation and decision making (Bantel and Jackson 1989; Bhadury et al. 2000; Hambrick et al. 1996; Kirchmeyer and McLellan 1991; Smith et al. 1994;). Table 7 presents the distribution of responses in terms of specific categories of business case.

Table 7: Key drivers for diversity in terms of business benefits (ranked from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important)

Drivers	Percentage of respondents					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
To recruit and retain best talent	13.3	16.5	18.6	8.1	7.4	63.9
To address recruitment problems	8.4	11.2	12.3	8.4	7.0	47.3
Desire to improve customer relations	5.3	8.1	14.7	7.7	7.4	43.2
To improve products and services	9.5	8.8	13.0	4.6	6.7	42.6
To improve creativity and innovation	5.6	8.1	14.0	8.1	6.7	42.5
Desire to reach diverse markets	6.0	6.7	11.2	7.4	8.4	39.7
To improve corporate branding	5.3	7.0	13.0	6.7	5.3	37.3
To enhance decision-making	2.8	8.4	14.7	4.9	4.2	35.0
To respond to the competition in the market	5.6	6.0	9.5	6.7	3.9	31.7
To respond to the global market	5.6	2.5	8.4	5.6	7.4	29.5

Number of valid responses: 285

The survey findings indicate that organisations do not consider most of the above specific benefits of workforce diversity as being key drivers for them. Of all bottom line benefits of diversity management, which are cited in the literature, recruitment related issues were the most influential drivers for diversity management for the survey respondents. ‘To recruit and retain best talent’ and ‘to address recruitment problems’

were ranked among the top five drivers by 63.9 per cent and 47.3 per cent of the survey participants respectively.

In terms of other specific benefits of diversity, improving the customer relations and market share does not seem to be strongly related to managing diversity by the employers either. Only, 43 per cent of the respondents ranked ‘desire to improve customer relations’ in the top five and ‘desire to reach diverse markets’ was among the top five drivers of diversity only for 39 per cent of the respondents. Similarly, responding to the globalisation and competition as drivers of diversity scored poorly with only 29 per cent of the respondents reporting ‘to respond to the global markets’ in their top five, and 32 per cent indicating that ‘to respond to the competition in the market’ is among the top five drivers of managing diversity for them. The statements that relate diversity management to improving the quality and performance of internal workforce were also proved to be unpopular among the survey respondents as key drivers for managing diversity. Only 42 per cent of the respondents reported ‘to improve creativity and innovation’ to be among the top five drivers for diversity. This figure was 42 per cent and 35 per cent for ‘to improve products and services’ and ‘to enhance decision making’ respectively.

I have also conducted chi-square tests in order to explore any sectoral differences in terms of key drivers for diversity. The survey findings suggested the existence of sectoral differences for some of the key drivers for diversity management. Chi-square test results revealed that although there were no statistically significant differences between public, private and voluntary sectors in terms of the responses given to 10 statements out of 17 statements about key drivers for diversity in organisations. Seven drivers, for which significant sectoral differences exist, were ‘legal pressures’, ‘trade union activities’, ‘corporate social responsibility’, ‘belief in social justice’, ‘desire to improve customer relations’, ‘to improve products and services’, and ‘to enhance decision making’ (see Appendix VI, Tables A.1 to A.7 for cross tabulations and the associated chi-square tests for each of these seven drivers). Interestingly, for all seven drivers, for which there is a sectoral difference in terms of responses, private sector consistently displayed a significantly lower percentage compared to public sector.

To start with, legal pressures and trade union activities were key drivers for diversity management in a significantly higher number of public sector organisations compared to their counterparts in private and voluntary sectors. For the remaining five drivers for diversity management public and voluntary sectors scored significantly higher than private sector. The number of respondents from public and voluntary sectors, who

reported that ‘corporate social responsibility’, ‘belief in social justice’, ‘desire to improve customer relations’, ‘to improve products and services’, ‘to enhance decision making’ are among the top five drivers for diversity in their organisations, were significantly higher than those from private sector. What is interesting about these results is the fact that despite the competency displayed by the semi-structured interview respondents from the private sector in terms of conveying business case arguments, the survey results do not confirm a more significant presence of business case as driving diversity management in private sector. In fact, for the majority of statements related to the business case drivers for diversity, there is no significant difference between the sectors. In cases where any significant differences exist, higher percentages of public and voluntary sectors are driven by business case motives, as exemplified by the higher rates of respondents from these sectors, compared to those from the private sector, who reported that ‘desire to improve customer relations’, ‘to improve products and services’, and ‘to enhance decision making’ are among the key drivers for diversity in their organisations.

Nevertheless, despite the sectoral differences, survey findings suggest that legal compliance concerns is overall the most important driver for the organisations in all sectors in the UK. The research findings were even more striking in terms of key drivers that are ranked first in terms of importance. In terms of the rates at which each of the specific business potentials of diversity were ranked as the most important drivers for managing diversity; the findings demonstrate even a more limited understanding of the business case for diversity management. Table 8 displays the top ranking drivers for organisations for managing diversity.

Table 8: Top ranking drivers for managing diversity (ranked as most important)

Drivers	Percentage of respondents
Legal pressures	32.3
Because it makes business sense	16.8
To be an employer of choice	15.4
To recruit and retain best talent	13.3
Because it is morally right	13.3
Corporate social responsibility	12.6
To improve products and services	9.5
Belief in social justice	8.8
To address recruitment problems	8.4
Desire to reach diverse markets	6.0
To respond to the global market	5.6
To respond to the competition in the market	5.6
To improve creativity and innovation	5.6
Desire to improve customer relations	5.3
To improve corporate branding	5.3
To enhance decision-making	2.8
Trade union activities	2.8

Number of valid responses: 285

As can be seen in the table, ‘desire to improve customer relations’ was top ranked by only 5.3 per cent of the respondents; ‘desire to reach diverse markets’ by 6 per cent; ‘to respond to global markets’ by 5.6 per cent; ‘to respond to the competition in the market’ by 5.6 per cent. Similarly the rates of being top ranked for the statements regarding workforce productivity and efficiency were low with ‘to improve creativity and innovation’ was ranked first by 5.6 per cent of the organisations; ‘to improve products and services’ by 9.5 per cent; and ‘to enhance decision making’ by only 2.8 per cent. Again, the highest scoring top ranking driver related to specific business benefits of diversity was related to recruitment. 13.3 per cent of the respondents ranked ‘to recruit and retain best talent’ as the most important key driver for diversity management in their organisations. However, it should be noted that the rate at which the statement ‘to recruit and retain best talent’ was ranked as the top driver for diversity varied across sectors as displayed in Table 9.

Table 9: Cross tabulation of top drivers for diversity: ‘To recruit and retain best talent’ by sector

			Top driver: To recruit and retain best talent		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	105	25	130
		Percentage	80.8%	19.2%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	108	8	116
		Percentage	93.1%	6.9%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	31	5	36
		Percentage	86.1%	13.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	244	38	282
		Percentage	86.5%	13.5%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 282

Pearson chi-square: 8.005, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .018

Interestingly, the number of respondents from public sector, who ranked recruitment and retention of best talent as the most important driver for diversity management in their organisations was significantly lower than those from private and voluntary sectors. Conversely, recruitment issues are high on the diversity agenda of private sector considering the fact that in 19.2 per cent of the private sector organisations recruiting and retaining best talent was reportedly the most important driver for diversity management. This suggests that of all different alleged business benefits of diversity put forward in the literature, recruitment considerations have been the most influential driving force for organisational diversity management programmes in the private sector. On the other hand, business case arguments around other potential bottom line benefits of diversity in terms of customer relations, workforce productivity and creativity, competitiveness were, at least at the level of actual organisational practice, not strongly adopted by the private sector organisations, which completed the survey.

More strikingly, the legal compliance was by far the most significant driver for diversity management in the participant organisations. 32 per cent of the respondents ranked ‘legal pressures’ as the most important driver for diversity management in their organisations. Furthermore, when the data are dissected by sector, it was revealed that ‘legal pressures’ were the top driver for both public and private sectors. The sectoral distribution of the responses is given in Table 10. As a brief note, it should be noted here that in the case of voluntary sector the most popular top driver for diversity was ‘belief in social justice’ (see Appendix VI, Table A.8). Such a result may be expected considering the fact that voluntary sector organisations most of the time aim to serve and support disadvantaged groups and persons in society.

Table 10: Cross tabulation of top drivers for diversity: ‘Legal pressures’ by sector

			Top driver: Legal pressures		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	101	29	130
		Percentage	77.7%	22.3%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	61	55	116
		Percentage	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	28	8	36
		Percentage	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	190	92	282
		Percentage	67.4%	32.6%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 282

Pearson chi-square: 19.610, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000

However, as can be seen in Table 10, the number of respondents who ranked legal pressures as key drivers for diversity was significantly higher in public sector, compared to private and voluntary sector. Nevertheless, the relatively greater importance attached to legal considerations by public sector organisations is not surprising given the presence of control and monitoring mechanisms which are designed to promote practices of equal opportunities in the public sector organisations in the UK, including the Race Equality Duty of 2001 and the Gender Equality Duty, which came to force in 2007.

The second most popular driver of diversity was ‘because it makes business sense’. However, in total only 17 per cent of the respondents ranked this statement as the most important driver for their organisations. In the light of the semi-structured interviews, one would again expect the business case to be a significantly more important driver for private sector, but there was not any statistically significant difference between public, private and voluntary sector.

Notwithstanding the sectoral differences, the survey findings demonstrated that drivers for diversity management were to a large extent limited to legal compliance concerns for organisations in the UK. These results clearly conflict with the argument that diversity management policies are internally driven since it makes business sense, unlike the equal opportunities policies which are externally driven by anti-discrimination legislation. As revealed by the survey results, the most important motive for the organisations to adopt diversity management policies and practices continues to be the consideration of legislative pressures.

The importance of legislation as a key driver for diversity management programmes was also evident in the in-depth interviews with diversity managers. Interestingly, legislation was not rated high when respondents talk in general terms during the interviews. However, it proved to be a decisive factor in terms of shaping the organisational diversity agenda in terms of actual programmes and activities. For example, during the interview with a diversity manager of a global financial sector company, I asked my respondent how she compares the state of company’s diversity management practice in different countries. Her response was very informative:

I think different countries are making progress in different areas. Well, it’s partly legislation as well, so you know, for example, in the UK about 95 per cent of our branches are fully compliant with the disability discrimination act requirements, so that’s an investment of 70 million, so you know, because we have legislation, but, whereas in other countries they may not have that legislation and their infrastructure may not be so developed and they may be doing very well in other areas.

So, the legislation continues to be a key driving force behind the decisions regarding resources committed to and areas of target for diversity management in organisations. Furthermore, the business benefits of diversity management are mostly linked to the area of human resources, more specifically to the issue of recruitment.

Business case and legal case arguments are often presented in dichotomous terms in the literature. However, there is also a historical dimension to the construction of the diversity management approach, and the legacy of the past is not easily removed. The equal opportunities perspective continue to colour and shape the current practice of diversity management, and organisations continue to use business and legal case arguments side by side. Cross tabulation between legal case and business case and the results of chi-square and correlation tests are presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Cross tabulation between Legal case (‘Legal pressures’) and Business case (‘Because it makes business sense’)

		Business case Count		Total
		No	Yes	
Legal case Count	No	57	35	92
	Yes	57	136	193
Total		114	171	285

Number of valid cases: 285
 Pearson chi-square: 27.289, degrees of freedom: 1, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000
 Pearson Correlation: .309, Significance (two-tailed): .000

Survey results revealed that organisations which have legal case arguments also have business case arguments and vice versa as can be seen in the table above. These findings as emerged from the survey data sit uncomfortably with the discourse of diversity management which is dominantly based on business case rhetoric, and suggest that arguably, the legal case is a key part of the business case, despite the impact of legislation being underplayed in the narrations of interview participants.

On the other hand, semi-structured interviews suggested that one of the most effective media, through which diversity managers could communicate the business case for diversity across their organisations, is to demonstrate positive impacts of diversity management on the bottom line through ‘hard data’. During the interview, the diversity manager from a large financial sector company made a very strong case for the necessity of research for successful design and implementation of diversity strategy and action plans:

The strategy has got to be based on a sound internal business case. They’ve got to do the research, they have got to understand what the challenges are for that organisation and then they’ve got to develop a plan that fits within the culture, that will enable the company to meet a number of gaps, get the gaps closed, by showing the line managers how closing these gaps is gonna make their jobs easier. And I think if you’ve got the top level commitment, you’ve got the plan that’s based on robust research, then a diversity manager shouldn’t have too many problems in putting in place a successful action plan.

The diversity manager from a public sector organisation also emphasised the importance of research and evaluation, which connect diversity management and organisational performance and which he also saw as one of the biggest challenges of his job as a diversity manager:

Certainly from an organisational perspective, the drivers have been about information. So the first driver is about actually having the data to be able to tell of anything about the performance of our organisation. That’s been a challenge and that’s much improved. And the second element then is around evaluation, looking for evidence that says that what you’ve done has actually made a difference.

Similarly, another respondent from public sector thought that the way forward for diversity management initiatives and programmes is to ensure that diversity is in the mainstream of organisational agenda by measuring and evaluating the impact of these initiatives and programmes. She explained as follows:

The way forward is to keep it high on the agenda, making it relevant for everybody within the organisations. The same sort of things that you'd have in place in any change strategy... You've got to put measurements in place and some performance indicators and some soft perception measures. And just keep that going.

The questionnaire survey also included a question on how the success of diversity management initiatives and their effect on the bottom line are monitored (Table 12). The question covered 15 possible measures through which organisations can evaluate whether diversity management has any positive impact on organisational performance. These measures ranged from traditional human resource measures such as employee attitude surveys, rates of labour turnover and absenteeism to more contemporary measures, which link diversity management to the bottom line such as monitoring customer satisfaction, employee commitment, improvements to customer base diversity, problem-solving and decision making as well as balanced scorecard¹ and impact assessment schemes.

Table 12: Which of the following measures do you use to monitor diversity in your organisation?

Measures	Number of respondents
Employee attitude surveys	206
Number of complaints and grievances	161
Labour turnover	159
Employee performance appraisals	132
Absenteeism	129
Ability to recruit	114
Number of tribunal cases	89
Impact assessment	77
Level of customer satisfaction	67
Employee commitment surveys	55
Business performance	53
Balanced Scorecard	48
Diversification of customer base	37
Improvements to problem-solving and decision-making	19
Psychological contract issues	16

Number of valid responses: 285

As Table 12 illustrates, organisations continue to use only a limited range of traditional measures including employee attitude surveys, complaints and grievances, turnover

¹ Kaplan and Norton’s (1996, 2001) ‘balanced scorecard’ model is the most commonly used technique to predict the economic value added by the intangible organisational resources. In this model, there are four key perspectives: ‘financial perspective’ (related to financial outcomes and shareholder values); customer perspective’ (related to customers’ satisfaction); ‘internal perspective’; (related to internal operations) and ‘learning and growth perspective’ (related to human resources). Diversity related goals are located in the last level of the model.

rates, appraisal, recruitment and absenteeism figures. Another striking finding of the survey was that the number of public sector organisations, which assess the impact of diversity management was significantly higher than their counterparts in private and voluntary sectors as demonstrated in Table 13.

Table 13: Cross tabulation of measures for monitoring diversity: ‘Impact assessment’ by sector

			Impact assessment		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	117	13	130
		Percentage	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	56	60	116
		Percentage	48.3%	51.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	32	4	36
		Percentage	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	205	77	282
		Percentage	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 282
Pearson chi-square: 59.217, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000

Only 10 per cent private sector organisations and 11.1 per cent of the voluntary sector organisations reported that they conduct impact assessment in order to measure diversity, whereas the figure was as high as 51.7 for the public sector. This finding again demonstrates that there is a more systematic effort in the public sector compared to private sector in terms of diversity management despite the fact that the managing diversity approach was more strongly advocated at the level of discourse by the latter. Furthermore, what seems to be missing from this picture are the measures which would assess the so-called business benefits of diversity management such as employee commitment surveys, business performance, balanced scorecard, diversification of customer base; improvements to problem-solving and decision-making and psychological contract issues.

It is claimed in the diversity management literature that diversity management approaches, which are based on business case arguments are potentially more progressive than equal opportunities perspectives, which invoke reactive measures in the organisations. It is also suggested that business case for diversity is the key driver for organisations to adopt a proactive approach and to initiate a cultural change in the organisations (Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Mighty 1991). Conversely, the survey findings suggest that organisations in the UK do not collect data on and measure the business benefits of diversity. In the absence of

evidence on business case for diversity, it is unclear how diversity management activities and diversity managers themselves could possibly have the necessary clout and be given necessary resources to initiate a cultural change in the organisations in the UK.

7.3.2 The focus of diversity management practice of managing diversity: groups or individuals?

In addition to business case rhetoric, another area of discrepancy between discourse and practice was in terms of definition of diversity. As I explained earlier, the individual based definition of diversity has emerged as one of the major components of the diversity management discourse during the interviews. However, throughout the interviews, when diversity managers talked about the actual diversity management practices and programmes in their organisations, it became clear that nearly all diversity activity in both public and private sectors organisations was designed around group based differences rather than individual based differences. For example, in the large financial sector company which claims to be one of the first organisations in the UK which broke with the traditional equal opportunities approach and adopted a US inspired managing diversity perspective, the focus of diversity management practice still seems to be traditional categories of disadvantage that are emphasised in equal opportunities frameworks. On the company's training programme, the diversity manager of the organisation says:

We've a number of positive action training programmes. Ethnic minority employees, or female employees or disabled employees. Big success factor I think is the fact that we get senior people along. So if it's the ethnic minority program, we'd get some senior ethnic minorities along so that they can tell them about how they made it to top management position, barriers and obstacles they had to overcome. We do have top managers in the bank that are disabled or that are from ethnic minority groups and that really does inspire people to get the confidence and enthusiasm to put their head in the ring and go for promotion because they can see what's possible. A few years ago people felt quite isolated, they didn't have access to role models. So they took the foot off the gas a little bit because they were never sure if they would get promoted so they didn't try. But now they can see in this range of training products that people like themselves backed up by mentoring, career coaching so on. I think that the benefit of our training portfolio is that there is something in it for everybody whether it is helping a white manager serving diverse customer base better or whether it's helping individual employees to manage their careers better.

Hearing the scope of the training programme and its focus on group-based disadvantage and positive action measures, one wonders in what sense the company achieved the so-

called break from the ‘traditional’ equal opportunities framework. Similarly, when asked about the successful diversity management programme, the diversity manager from a private financial sector company described the company’s senior recruitment programme which was again an example of the traditional positive action approach:

Diversity is part of our senior recruitment processes. We do rigorously monitor at those senior levels the number of candidates on shortlists. You know, we don’t run quotas or anything like that but we do challenge our executive search firms to deliver us diverse candidates.

Furthermore, most of the diversity programmes and activities described throughout the interviews targeted traditional categories of gender and ethnicity, and much less attention was paid to the other strands of diversity covered by the anti-discrimination legislation in the UK. For instance, when I asked the interview participants about the successful diversity management initiatives in their organisations, the examples they have given were most of the time related to the improved representation of female and BME staff in the internal workforce. The words of the diversity manager from a large retail company illustrate the continuing focus on traditional categories of disadvantage:

Having recently done a bit of a check in our staff growth rates to see what changed this year compared to last year, total growth in the UK in terms of retail staff working in our stores actually driven by black and ethnic minorities and the number of white staff has actually gone down in the company by nearly ten percent. It’s a dramatic improvement in terms of recruiting and holding onto BME staff.

Another diversity manager from the private sector, working in a global petrochemical company, talked about gender and ethnicity when I asked about her overall evaluation of the company’s state with respect to managing diversity:

In the UK workforce, we have about 25 per cent women. At our very senior management we have about 9 per cent women. And on ethnicity, we have about 8 per cent across the whole workforce.

As a response to my question of what is in her future agenda, the same respondent simply said “Age, age and age”, a response, which was not surprising at all considering the recent legislative and business focus on age discrimination. Likewise, public sector organisations target their diversity and equality programmes and activities on the legally protected categories in the workforce. In the case of both local government organisations who have participated in the research, gender was an important criterion against which the organisations evaluated their success and achievement in terms of

managing diversity. The quotation below from the interview with the diversity managers in one of the local government organisations shows how representation in terms of gender is also seen as part of the business case:

We're a party to the research with the CIPD on the business case. We've actually looked at women in senior management. That's again another national target for us. We looked at succession and planning and learning and development activities for women in our middle management areas to make sure that they have right skills and knowledge progress within our organisation. What I can only say is that the number of women in senior management positions continues to grow. Figure I've got is that 44 per cent of our top five per cent earners are female. This shows our progression over the last 4-5 years, we were down at probably 34-35 per cent when we started.

Similarly, the other research participant from local government focused on traditional categories of gender, ethnicity and disability when asked about how success of diversity management policies and programmes are evaluated in his organisation:

We monitor the recruitment. We monitor the top 5 per cent of earners who are BME and who are women. We also match the percentages of the disabled in the council as opposed to the percentage of the disabled in the community. We have a group of councils, 36 in all. And we are the top, the highest. We've got the most women in senior management. Our leader of the council is female. Our chief executive is female. We don't have programmes, but we've been dealing with the ethnic press to attract more people. We think we're very successful with women actually.

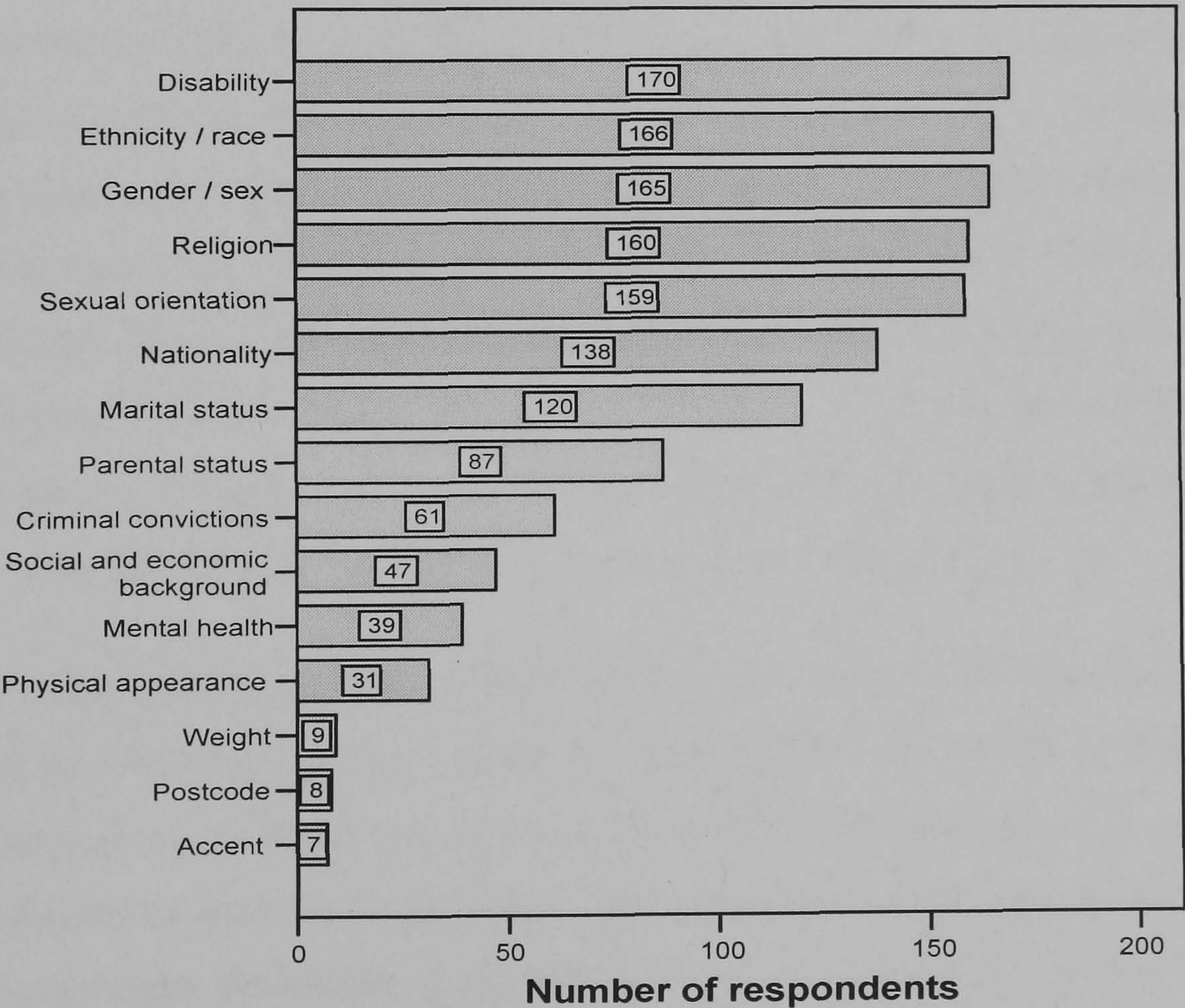
In the light of evidence from the semi-structured interview, it is possible to argue that despite the rhetoric of “welcoming all forms of difference”, defining diversity in terms of “all the ways in which we differ”, the actual practice of diversity management targets the strands of diversity which are protected under the UK legislation and which have traditionally been the focus of equal opportunities initiatives. In addition, most of the attention is paid to gender, ethnicity and disability, rather than the categories such as religion and belief, age, sexual orientation, whose introduction into anti-discrimination legislation have been relatively recent.

In addition to monitoring recruitment of individuals from minority and disadvantaged backgrounds, another frequently cited successful diversity management initiative was diversity training programmes. Respondents from both public and private sector organisations devoted extensive time during the interviews to describe their training programmes. All of the organisations had diversity training for managers and some had introduced a diversity and equality component into the induction training for all

employees. The training initiatives were often limited to half-day programmes and aimed to raise awareness on organisations' anti-harassment and bullying policies, anti-discrimination legislation, and welcoming and respecting differences. Thus, semi-structured interviews suggest that the practice in the field of diversity management overwhelmingly focused on monitoring, recruitment and training activities with a substantial attention to legislation and group-based differences. The questionnaire survey evidence has also confirmed the findings, which emerged from the interviews.

The mainstream diversity literature claims that due to its inclusive nature, the diversity management approach has an advantage over the equal opportunities perspective, which was insufficient in dealing with workplace discrimination because of its exclusive focus on gender and ethnicity (Thomas 1990). However, the results of the questionnaire survey demonstrated that understanding of diversity in the UK organisations is not based on such an inclusive approach. The survey asked respondents which categories of diversity are covered by their organisations' diversity policy. Table 14 illustrates the responses of the diversity officials completed the survey.

Table 14: Which of the following categories does your diversity policy cover?



Number of valid responses: 285

In terms of diversity and equality strands covered by anti-discrimination legislation in the UK, 59.6 per cent of the organisations participating in the survey covered disability in their diversity policies; 58.2 per cent race and ethnicity; 57.9 per cent gender; 56.1 per cent religion; 55.8 per cent sexual orientation; 48.4 per cent nationality; 45.6 per cent age. Furthermore, chi-square analysis revealed that public and voluntary sectors organisations were more likely to include these strands in their diversity policy compared to organisations in private sector (see Appendix VI, Tables B.8 to B.14). Table 15 presents the percentages of public, private and voluntary sectors organisations, which cover different legally protected diversity strands under their diversity policy.

Table 15: Which of the following categories does your diversity policy cover?
(coverage of legally protected categories by sector)

		Private sector	Public sector	Voluntary sector
Diversity strands	Disability	49.2%	69.0%	72.2%
	Ethnicity and race	45.4%	70.7%	69.4%
	Gender/sex	47.7%	68.1%	66.7%
	Religion	46.9%	64.7%	66.7%
	Sexual orientation	46.2%	65.5%	63.9%
	Nationality	38.5%	55.2%	66.7%
	Age	38.5%	50.9%	58.3%

Number of valid responses: 282

As can be seen in Table 15, diversity policies of less than half of the organisations in the private sector included seven legally protected diversity strands. In public and voluntary sectors, the figures were significantly higher, but they varied between 50 and 70 per cent, which can be considered low particularly considering the fact that legislation as well as equal opportunities initiatives for some of these strands such as gender and race exist for more than three decades in the UK. This picture clearly demonstrates that the organisational practices and awareness of equal opportunities and diversity management practice in the UK still requires improvement.

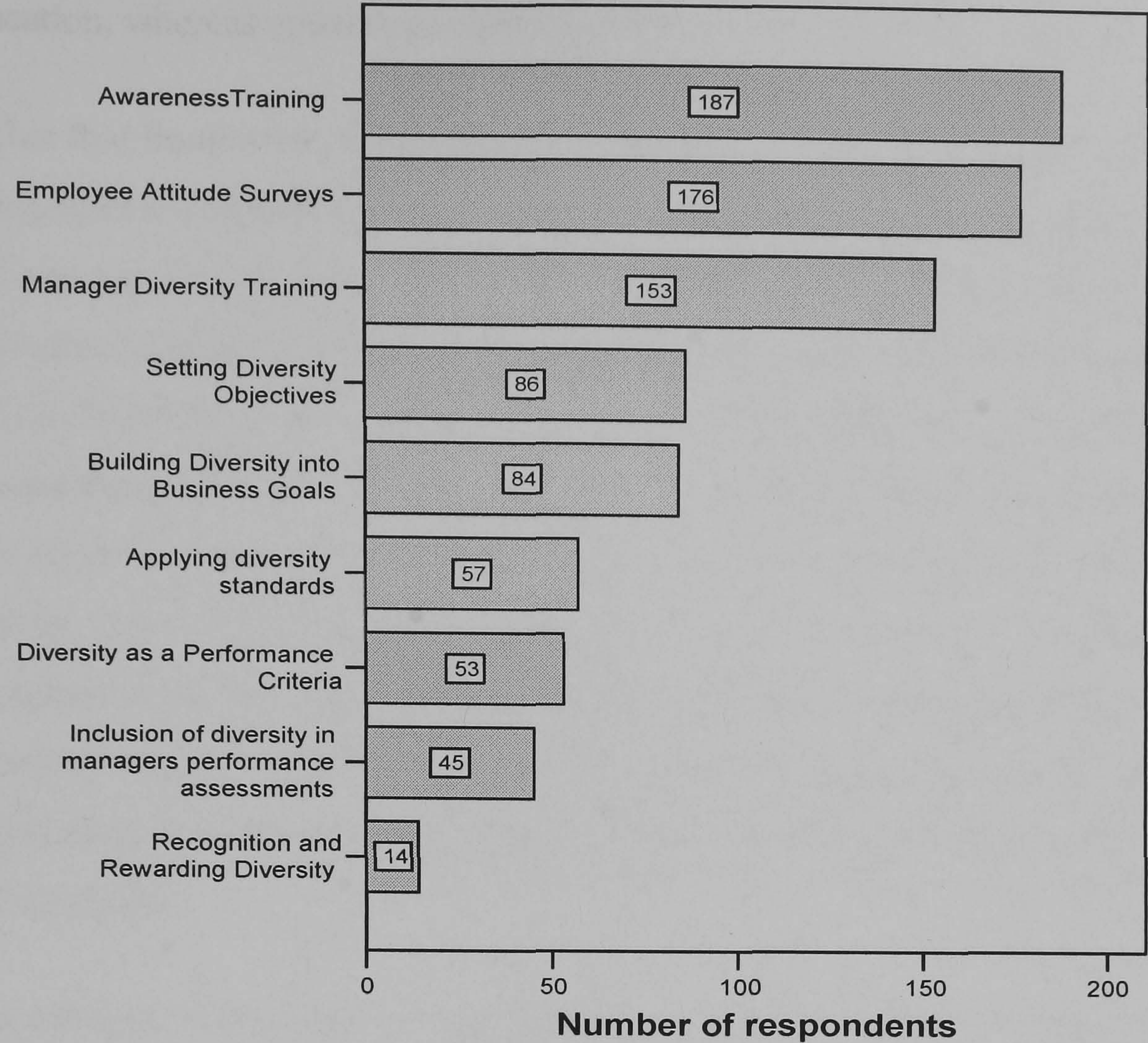
Diversity management approaches emphasise the idea of inclusion, and valuing and respecting all forms of difference rather than limiting the diversity efforts to traditional equality categories. As discussed earlier in this section, a similar view was evident in the semi-structured interviews, particularly for the case of respondents from private sector organisations. Strikingly, in the questionnaire survey only 20 per cent of the respondents stated that their organisations’ diversity policy covers ‘all forms of difference’ and there was no statistically significant difference between the sectors. This finding clearly undermines the credibility of diversity management paradigm in terms of promoting inclusive organisational practices and structures.

Furthermore, inclusion rates of non-traditional diversity categories which are not covered by the employment legislation were very low among the participating organisations. For instance, only 16.5 per cent of the organisations included social and economic background in their diversity policy; 10.9 per cent physical appearance; 3.2 per cent weight; 2.8 per cent postcode; 2.5 per cent accent; 13.7 per cent mental health; 9.5 per cent political ideology. Once again, the numbers of public and voluntary sector organisations, which include different forms of diversity such as social and economic background, criminal conviction, marital and parental status, mental health, political ideology, trade union membership, were significantly higher than numbers of private sector organisations (see Appendix VI, Tables B.1 to B.7).

Revealing the private sector's poor state in terms of inclusion of traditional and non-traditional categories of diversity and equality in their diversity policies, the survey findings raises several important questions, e.g. if many forms of diversity are not covered by diversity management policies of private sector organisations what the managing diversity programmes involve and target; or to what extent diversity management is used by private sector organisations as a decoy to avoid legislation and any serious effort for tackling workplace discrimination and inequality. Nevertheless, exploring these issues is beyond the aims of this thesis.

In summary, the survey findings demonstrated that the categories of diversity that are most frequently reported to be covered by the participant organisations' diversity management programmes and policies in all sectors are the categories, which are protected by the anti-discrimination legislation in the UK. This focus on the legally protected categories reveals the gap between rhetoric of managing diversity as being an approach inclusive of all differences, and the practice of diversity management as a framework of activities around legal compliance. The survey respondents were also asked which diversity activities their organisations have and Table 16 presents the responses of the participants.

Table 16: Which of the following diversity activities does your organisation have?



Number of valid responses: 285

As can be seen in the table, the most popular diversity activities were awareness and diversity training for employees (65.6%) and for managers (53.7%), and employee attitude surveys (61.8%). Unfortunately, neither employee attitude surveys nor training programmes are the most effective initiatives to promote diversity and equality in organisations. Employee attitude surveys will not serve change discriminatory and exclusionary organisational structures and practices automatically unless they inform diversity management activities.

Popularity of diversity training programmes among the survey participants also deserves a cautious attention in terms of uncovering the state of organisational diversity management practices. As Bradley et al. (2007) urge, content and form of diversity training display variation. They argue that poor practice in diversity training may even be counter-productive, particularly in cases where such training activities are the result of compliance culture and do not go beyond paying lip service to diversity and equality concerns. On the other hand, Acker (2007) suggests that diversity and equality training programmes are among the least effective diversity initiatives in terms of achieving organisational change.

Acker also states that diversity management approaches tend to use training and education, whereas equal opportunities perspectives tend to utilise legal tools.

Within that framework, the question is to what extent diversity management approaches are capable of achieving progressive organisational outcomes, which promote equality, diversity and inclusiveness. For instance, Kalev et al. (2006: 610) after assessing the efficacy of affirmative action and diversity management policies in the US conclude that the main reason for employers to adopt anti-discrimination and diversity measures is not to promote corporate equality, but they adopt these measures “as windows dressing, to inoculate themselves against liability, or to improve morale”. Thus, one of the issues the survey results bring out relates to the hidden agenda behind diversity initiatives and programmes in organisations, and to whether these initiatives and programmes target to enhance organisational diversity and equality, or just pay lip service to the idea of equality and inclusion.

Interestingly, unlike employee attitude surveys and training programmes, which were present in the majority of the organisations, which completed the survey, other types of diversity activities that would make diversity management a part of organisational mainstream, and enhance its legitimacy, importance and effectiveness were in place only in a small minority of organisations. Curiously, 69.8 per cent of the respondents reported that they do not set diversity objectives. It is hard to imagine, how any diversity management policy or programme can be designed, implemented and sustained unless diversity objectives are set.

However, it should be noted that the extremely low figures in terms of ‘setting diversity objectives’ was largely due to the poor figures of private sector in that respect. As can be seen in Table 17, 48.3 per cent of the public sector organisations set diversity objectives, whereas the figure for the private sector was only 14.6 per cent. Notwithstanding the sectoral differences, 48.3 per cent can be considered low for public sector, since the organisations in the UK public sector are encouraged to set equality and diversity objectives, and monitor equality and diversity through mechanism such as Equality Standard for Local Government, Learning for All for schools, Bridging the Gap and Measuring the Gap for community and health services (Özbilgin and Tatli 2006a; Tatli et al. 2006b).

Table 17: Cross tabulation of organisational diversity activities by sector: ‘Setting diversity objectives’

			Setting diversity objectives		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	111	19	130
		Percentage	85.4%	14.6%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	60	56	116
		Percentage	51.7%	48.3%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	25	11	36
		Percentage	69.4%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	196	86	282
		Percentage	69.5%	30.5%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 282
Pearson chi-square: 32.768, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000

Returning back to the survey findings regarding organisational diversity activities, in 95 per cent of the organisations diversity achievements were not rewarded and recognised and 70.5 per cent did not build diversity into their business goals. Similarly, just 20 per cent of the survey respondents reported that their organisation applies diversity standards. Furthermore, diversity was a performance criterion in only 18.6 per cent of the organisations and diversity related goals were included in managers’ performance assessment by only 15.8 per cent of the organisations who completed the survey.

The survey results were even more revealing when data was dissected by sector (see Appendix VI. Tables C.1 to C.5 for cross tabulations and chi-square tests). There were significant sectoral differences in distribution of responses by sector for all diversity activities but two, which were ‘recognition and rewarding diversity’ and ‘employee attitude surveys’. Responses of the participants from private sector organisations demonstrated that private sector consistently scored poorly for all types of diversity activities included in the question, with the exception of ‘employee attitude surveys’, which indeed proved to be a very popular diversity activity in all sectors.

On the other hand, according to the survey findings, public sector organisations were significantly ahead of their counterparts in private sector with regards to the presence of different types of diversity activities. For instance, 87.1 per cent of the public sector organisations had awareness training and 72.4 per cent had manager diversity training, whereas for the private sector the figures remained at

as low as 44.6 per cent and 40.8 per cent respectively. More important for the organisational legitimacy accorded to diversity management, 41.4 per cent of the public sector organisations and 36.1 per cent of the voluntary sector organisations reported that they build diversity into business goals, as opposed to only 17.7 per cent in the private sector (see Table 18).

Table 18: Cross tabulation of organisational diversity activities by sector: ‘Building diversity into business goals’

			Building diversity into business goals		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	107	23	130
		Percentage	82.3%	17.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	68	48	116
		Percentage	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	23	13	36
		Percentage	63.9%	36.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	198	84	282
		Percentage	70.2%	29.8%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 282
Pearson chi-square: 17.234, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000

Although diversity was a performance criterion in only 26.7 per cent of the public sector organisations, the sector still significantly achieved better than the private sector, in which the figure was as low as 10.8 per cent. Similar results were evident also for ‘Inclusion of diversity in managers’ performance assessments’. As Bradley et al. (2007) put forward integrating diversity targets into managers’ performance appraisals is crucial in order to promote equality and diversity organisation wide, and it is also an indication of structural support for diversity management policies and programmes, as well as for the person of diversity manager. Ironically, the majority of organisations did not include diversity related concerns in managers’ performance assessments, with the private sector again having the significantly lowest score (10.8%) and public sector having the highest (21.6%).

A similarly poor picture in terms of diversity management activities was also evident throughout the semi-structured interviews. The only area that the organisations, which took part in the qualitative part of the study, seemed to be more improved compared to the organisations, which participated in the questionnaire survey, was applying diversity standards. All of the in-depth interview respondents both from public and private sectors reported that their

organisations apply diversity standards. Several external benchmarking surveys were being used by the organisations in both public and private sectors, e.g. Stonewall, Race for Opportunity and Opportunity Now. Still, organisations, which participated in the interviews and questionnaire survey alike, were far from having a holistic and comprehensive approach to diversity management.

7.4 Conclusion

A number of common themes have emerged from the questionnaire survey responses and semi-structured interviews. These themes indicate the existence of a distinct diversity management field. The interview evidence suggest a discursive shift from ethical and legal arguments to business case arguments, from group-based understanding of difference to individual-based definitions of difference, and from emphasis of political and power-ridden nature of discrimination to prioritising needs of employers and role of senior management. However, there were differences between interviewees from public and private sectors in terms of their use of the diversity management discourse. These differences show that the discourse of diversity management is not completely homogenous or uncontested.

Diversity managers from the private sector seemed to be more comfortable in using the mainstream diversity management discourse compared to their public sector counterparts who appeared to be relatively reluctant in adopting that discourse, which is not surprising considering the fact that the dominant discourse of diversity management originates from the private sector and that the machinery of public relations in this sector has been churning out stories of success, stories which draw attention to linkages between diversity and business performance. However, it should be noted that the aforementioned reluctance of public sector diversity managers in adopting the dominant discourse of diversity management does not suggest that they had contested or critiqued the diversity management discourse. On the contrary, research findings demonstrate that business case arguments are gaining popularity in the public sector too and diversity managers in this sector have adopted this dominant discourse unquestioningly throughout their narrations.

What is surprising is the fact that, at the level of actual practice the field of diversity management in the case of both public and private sectors was more or less confined to the activities, initiatives and programmes which were previously associated with the equal opportunities framework. Having been historically more experienced in equal

opportunities programmes and policies, public sector organisations lead the agenda in terms of practice. Nevertheless, sectoral differences aside, the practice of diversity management with its overwhelming focus on HRM activities and procedures such as training, recruitment and promotion, as well as its exclusive targeting of legally protected categories clearly conflicts with the discourse of diversity management which pictures managing diversity as the new game in town and as an approach radically different from the equal opportunities perspective.

This study identified that there are both continuities and divergences between diversity management and equal opportunities approaches, thus we cannot talk about a clear break from equal opportunities as suggested in the mainstream diversity literature. Although, the practice in the field of diversity management pertains a striking resemblance to that of equal opportunities, the discursive dimension of the field tells another story, a neo-liberal story which pushes the political nature of difference and discrimination under the carpet while bringing the profit concerns into the focus of debate. It is that very discourse that diversity managers largely use in their day-to-day job when trying to attract organisational resources and support for diversity management policies and programmes. To summarise, the evidence from interview and survey data demonstrated that the field of diversity management is a curious hybrid of neo-liberal ideology and equal opportunities perspectives. The discourse prevailing in the field is largely informed by neo-liberal ideology whereas the practice of managing diversity is to a large extent confined to the activities which are traditionally part of equal opportunities frameworks.

Then, what is unique about managing diversity, or is it possible to talk about a separate field of diversity management? As the field research evidence uncovered, it is the very marriage of neo-liberal discourse and equal opportunities approaches itself, which provides the field of diversity management with attributes of uniqueness and peculiarity. The unlikely combination these two approaches into a single framework suggests that diversity management is a new phenomenon, which is distinguishable from the equal opportunities approach. This chapter concentrated on the structural aspects of the diversity management field in terms of discourse and practice. The next chapter completes the task of identifying the internal logic and dynamics of the diversity management field through an in-depth exploration of the professional identity of diversity managers who are the most visible individual actors in the field of diversity management.

Chapter Eight

Analysing the Internal Dynamics of the Diversity Management Field II: Professional Identity

8.1 Introduction

Bourdieu uses the metaphor of game-playing to explain his understanding of human agency in a particular field. According to him, a field is occupied by agents who implicitly acknowledge the rules governing that field through the very act of playing the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Thus, understanding of a field begs for a double investigation of the structures governing the field and the agents who enact, reproduce and subscribe to these structures. In an attempt to capture the internal dynamics of the diversity management field, the previous chapter explored the structural mechanisms prevalent in the field. This chapter furthers the analysis of the diversity management field thorough locating the active agents, diversity managers, in the field and exploring the ways in which their identity as members of an occupational group is constructed within the field.

In Bourdieu's analytical framework a circular relationship exist between micro and macro levels of social reality, i.e. between capital and field. According to Bourdieu, social researchers are tasked to explore the logic of the field and different forms of capital that are operational in the field in order to reveal the internal dynamics of the field true to its nature (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Thus, the social science endeavour will be marked by a circular investigation of the logic of the field and the specific forms of capital that operate within the field. Bourdieu (1987: 3-4) explains why exploration of different forms of capital is a must in order to empirically construct a specific field as follows:

The social world can be conceived as a multi-dimensional space that can be constructed empirically by discovering the main factors of differentiation which account for the differences observed in a given social universe, or, in other words, by discovering the powers or forms of capital which are or can become efficient, like the aces in a game of cards, in this particular universe, that is, in the struggle (or competition) for the appropriation of scarce goods of which this universe is the site. It follows that the structure of this space is given by the distribution of the various forms of capital, that is, by the distribution of the properties which are active within the universe

under study- those properties capable of conferring strength, power and consequently profit on their holder.

Following Bourdieu, analysis of different forms of capital is an integral part of this chapter, which identifies the nature of professional identity associated with the job of managing diversity. Using Bourdieu's concept of field brings the dimension of power into the analysis since it refers to both a system of social positions and a system of forces, which shapes the relationships between these positions (Jenkins 1992). Hence, this section explores components of professional identity and expertise in the field as well as legitimate sources of power, that is, different forms of capital that are available in the field. The exploration of professional identity of diversity managers is crucial within the scope of this research, which explores the agency of diversity managers, because it promotes a better understanding of who are diversity managers, how powerful they are in their immediate organisational settings, and from which sources they do get this power.

The analysis in the chapter is informed by the evidence from semi-structured interviews conducted with diversity managers of large organisations in the UK and the national online questionnaire survey. The chapter is divided into three sections: expertise and skills, job status and organisational position, and organisational support. The analysis in this chapter is important for two reasons. First, it situates the dynamics of professional identity in relation to social, organisational and individual influences, and reveals the interplay between these influences at different levels. Second, by doing the former, it addresses the limitations of human capital based explanations of professional careers. Furthermore, this research is the first attempt in diversity management scholarship to understand the components of professional identity of diversity managers by analysing robust and multi-level empirical evidence, which was generated through a multi-method research strategy.

8.2 Expertise and skills of diversity managers

Levels of expertise and skills are important sources of influence and status in organisations. The questionnaire survey asked respondents which skills they need most in their job of managing diversity. Table 19 presents the responses to this question.

Table 19: Which skills do you need most in your job in diversity management?

Skills	Number of respondents
Understanding of law	225
Understanding of human resource/personnel management procedures	202
Understanding of the perspectives of the diverse groups and individuals	195
Sense of fairness	192
Negotiating and influencing skills	177
Communication and consensus building skills	166
Understanding of business environment	154
Coaching, mentoring and facilitating skills	144
Networking	131
Leadership skills	118
Understanding of inter-group relations	110
Analytical and critical thinking skills	107
Chairmanship	30

Number of valid responses: 280

As can be seen in Table 19, the responses suggest that an understanding of law, HRM procedures and perspectives of the diverse groups and individuals are the most highly cited skills that diversity officers need in their job, which shows that the job of managing diversity is most strongly associated with HRM operations, the ability to respond to the legal requirements and changes, and awareness of equality and diversity issues. I have also checked whether there is any significant difference between diversity managers across different organisational levels in terms of their skills requirements (see Appendix VI, Tables D.1 to D.4).

‘Understanding of law’ was the highest rating skill category irrespective of the job level of respondents. Similarly, a considerable number of respondents from all job levels believed that ‘sense of fairness’, ‘understanding of the perspectives of the diverse groups and individuals’ and ‘negotiating and influencing skills’ were key to their job of managing diversity. ‘Communication and consensus building skills’, ‘networking’ and ‘coaching, mentoring and facilitating skills’ rated lower than the above as key skills for the job, but there was no significant difference by job level. Unsurprisingly, the percentage of respondents who thought that ‘leadership skills’ and ‘chairmanship’ are key for diversity management role were significantly higher at the level of senior management and board membership.

There were two striking results that emerged from the survey results. First, the percentage of diversity managers who reported that ‘understanding of human resource/personnel management procedures’ was a key skill to their jobs was

significantly lower for respondents who were placed at lower ranks of their organisations as junior staff. Only 51 per cent of the respondents who were junior staff or supervisor thought that understanding of HRM procedures was a key skill for the job of managing diversity.

Second, the number of respondents who believed that ‘understanding of inter-group relations’ was a key skill for managing diversity was significantly lower at the middle managerial ranks (29.9%), compared to their counterparts, who are junior staff and supervisor (39%) or senior managers and board members (47.5%). These two findings can be interpreted as worrying since the process of diversity management involves dealing and interfering with the relationships between minority and majority groups, which necessitates an understanding of inter-group relations; and has a strong workforce component, which requires diversity managers to be competent in the area of HRM.

On the other hand, all of the interview participants emphasised the importance of knowledge and expertise in the fields of HRM, legislation, and equality and diversity. The majority of them claimed that a holistic and multidimensional expertise portfolio is necessary for the job of managing diversity. For instance, the diversity manager of a local government organisation explained that diversity managers need to have expertise in other areas outside of the equality and diversity field as well. He suggested:

I think a certain amount of expertise would be expected. I think fundamentally it's just about core management processes and having the right sort of leadership skills at whatever level you are to make a difference.

Similarly, the diversity manager of the large supermarket chain emphasised the necessity of holding wide range of skills which may be gained during working in different functions of the business:

You know it's a very wide subject in terms of working out the strategy and delivering it, are two very different things in their own right. So you need to have experience of having done those. You need to draw on your experience from your whole life really.

The other diversity manager of the same company claimed that ‘knowing the theory’ of diversity is not sufficient to gain support for the diversity management policies and programmes. He said:

In particular, I think that's relevant to how you can carry people with you. From a commercial perspective, knowing which arguments you can use to sell

it. You need people to make it happen. If you look at diversity specialists in business, who struggle with getting their line managers or their commercial colleagues to the prospect. I think that’s a part of the problem. They know the theory well. They know what they want to do. But the line managers don’t do what they should be doing.

These words also signal the political nature of the diversity managers’ job and uncover the fact that strategic manipulation of skills and knowledge, and use of ‘right’ discourse is as much a part of diversity managers’ expertise as the actual amount of skills and knowledge that they have. Having identified the necessary skills and expertise for managing diversity, the questionnaire survey also included a question on the sources of expertise (Table 20).

Table 20: How did you gain the expertise required for your current role in diversity management?

Source of expertise	Number of respondents
Work experience	185
External training	145
Diversity networks	106
In-house training	99
Formal education	91

Number of valid responses: 280

The results show that majority of the diversity officers, who took part in the survey have gained their expertise through work experience and external training. Diversity networks, in-house training and formal education also appear as other sources of expertise for diversity officers. For all different sources of expertise reported, but formal education, percentages of public sector diversity managers were significantly higher compared to diversity managers in private sector. The conclusion regarding this finding can be twofold. First, diversity managers in the public sector utilise greater number of sources in order to improve their expertise in managing diversity. Second, the public sector, compared to the private sector, offers wider opportunities of expertise and skill development for diversity managers through external and internal training, involving in diversity networks as well as work experience (see Appendix VI, Tables E.1 to E.4).

A similar finding was also evident when the organisational size was considered as a comparison criterion. Diversity managers in large organisations were more likely to gain expertise through in-house training, work experience and networking, in comparison to their counterparts in SMEs (see Appendix VI, Tables E.5 to E.7). The peculiarity of SMEs in terms of their resources, priorities and agenda for diversity and equality initiatives and programmes is cited elsewhere (Özbilgin and Tatli 2006a;

Woodhams and Lupton 2006). Hence, organisational size has important implications for the agency of diversity managers since it impacts upon the resources available to and opportunities open for diversity managers. For instance, according to the survey results, small organisations are less likely to provide their diversity managers with opportunities of networking and in-house training. Likewise, diversity managers working in SMEs did not value work experience as a source of expertise as much as the diversity managers from large organisations. The rate of respondents from large organisations, who reported work experience as a source of expertise was significantly higher with 75 per cent than the rates of those from small (57.4%) and medium (62.1%) sized organisations.

In the literature diversity and equality networks are cited as crucial sources of not only expertise but also support and credibility for diversity and equality officers (Meyerson and Scully 1995; Parker 1999). According to survey results, diversity managers from public sector organisations or from large organisations were significantly more likely to utilise diversity and equality networks than diversity managers, who work in the private sector or SMEs. Thus, the findings revealed that resources for professional development are not equally accessible to diversity managers in different sectors and different types of organisations.

Interestingly, formal education as a source of expertise had the lowest score of all sources of expertise irrespective of sector and organisational size. Considering the fact that holding a formal education is a prerequisite and the most legitimate criterion for entry into a professional field, this is a striking finding which also indicates the absence of formal routes to professional education in the field. In addition to work experience, internal and external training, networks and formal education, cultural and demographic background emerged as another important source of expertise for diversity managers throughout the interviews.

The qualitative and quantitative evidence revealed that there are three key sources of expertise and skills for diversity managers. First, formal sources such as education, training and work experience, which are often called human capital, may provide diversity managers with a set of skills to manage diversity. Second, diversity managers' personal histories, which also relate to their cultural and demographic background, may generate an understanding and awareness of diversity and equality issues. Finally, diversity managers may gain expertise through informal sources such as participation

in diversity and equality networks. The first two sources, that is, human capital and personal histories, are also signifiers of the amount of cultural capital owned by the diversity managers, whereas the third source, diversity and equality networks, generates social capital. I now turn into the interview findings in order to provide more in-depth and sophisticated insights on the levels and types of skills and expertise that are held by diversity managers.

To start with, regarding their human capital traits, there was no general pattern for the 11 diversity managers who participated in the research. Their educational and functional background displayed a heterogeneous mix which made it impossible to identify a specific set of criteria so as to understand what kind of professional qualifications a diversity manager would hold. The level of education of the respondents varies from A Levels to master's degree. The degrees they hold included marketing, management, psychology, organisational development and food management science. Similarly, their functional backgrounds and their work experience previous to their diversity role showed variation. Only one interview participant, who works in the equality division of a national government organisation, reported to be working in the equality and diversity field for over 20 years. She also mentioned that throughout these years she has undertaken extensive research on equality and diversity as a part of her job and she "set up first ever positive action programme for BME staff and for disabled staff in the 1990s" in the UK.

The cases of the other ten interview participants demonstrated that diversity managers do not necessarily come from equality and diversity related backgrounds. Indeed, all of the eleven interviewees, but one, had previously worked in other functional areas such as marketing, customer relations, corporate communication, food manufacturing, insurance and banking, HRM and police forces. The diversity manager of the large supermarket chain commented on how he ended up in his current diversity management role as follows:

Mainly food sector and mainly in food manufacturing before XXX... Then also I run my own business for a period of time, growing fresh mushrooms. It's amazing how people arrive in their jobs isn't it.

This quotation clearly shows that for some of respondents working in the field of diversity and equality may not necessarily be a result of long-term career planning. Interestingly, all of the respondents have been internally recruited to their current

diversity role from other functions in their organisations. Similar findings were evident also in the questionnaire survey responses. Table 21 illustrates the lengths of respondents’ employment in their current organisation and current diversity roles.

Table 21: Length of work in the current organisation and for the current diversity role

	Percentage of respondents					Number of valid responses
	Up to 1 year	1 - 2 years	3 -5 years	6 - 10 years	More than 10 years	
How long have you worked for your current organisation?	12.5	24.2	27.4	18.9	17.1	281
How long have you been responsible for diversity in your current role?	32.1	32.1	26.0	6.8	3.0	265

As can be seen in the table, the length of work of respondents in their organisations were longer than the length of time they were responsible for diversity in their current roles, which indicates that most of the respondents were internally recruited to their diversity roles in their organisations. A very striking finding was related to the long-term career aspirations of respondents (see Table 22).

Table 22: To what extent do you agree with the following statements in connection with your current diversity role?

	Percentage of respondents					Number of valid responses
	Strongly disagree 1	2	3	4	Strongly agree 5	
My long-term future lies with this organisation	7.3	16.7	30.2	31.6	14.2	275
I want to continue my career in the diversity field	4.8	14.9	47.6	18.6	14.1	269

45.8 per cent of respondents believed that their long-term careers lie with their current organisations. However, only 32.7 per cent wanted to continue their careers in the diversity field. Respondents’ low levels of intention to continue their careers in the diversity field may possibly indicate that diversity management job is not highly regarded by respondents, seen as a dead-end job or as a transitional post. On the other hand, interviews suggested that people from various educational and functional backgrounds find themselves in the diversity role in their organisation generally at a later stage of their career. In that regard, all of the interview participants were middle-aged, youngest being 38 years old and oldest 52. Apart from that, there was not a general pattern regarding the professional qualifications that are required for the diversity role.

The diversity expert from the national government organisation pointed out the absence of an objective and standard set of qualifications, which is used by organisations when they recruit diversity managers: “With a colleague we were trying to come up with qualifications for diversity people. There seemed to be no standard when organisations are looking for consultants”. She complained about organisations’ approach to recruitment and selection of the people for the diversity role and pointed out the dangers of this:

The other cautionary thing that I would say is that there are some people in diversity role... For example recently, they pointed someone who is not actually very knowledgeable on the diversity issues. Diversity isn’t a work that anyone can jump on. And it’s such an emotional agenda. It’s not theoretical that you could put people, you know it’s not commonsense. You know there is no common around this agenda. And if you’re in that role and you cannot answer questions then your credibility is short.

She, then, argued that diversity managers’ effectiveness in their job and their potential to drive organisational change depends on the way they are recruited by their organisations. She said:

First of all it depends on how the person was selected and at what level in their organisation. For people who are diversity managers, the post should be advertised with clear criteria. People should apply to that matching those criteria. And these people should also have a commitment to and good understanding of diversity, what it means and so forth. So you’ve got to get the right people doing it and at the right level.

The path she is advocating does not seem to be followed by the organisations considering the fact that diversity managers are internally recruited and that there is not a standard for job qualifications in terms of education, training, experience and expertise. For instance, despite the fact that diversity managers are most of the time located in HRM, as discussed in detail in the next section, they are not required to be a member of the CIPD or hold CIPD qualifications unlike most of their counterparts in other areas of HRM profession. This was also a point made by the diversity manager of a global financial sector company, who herself is a CIPD member. She stated:

To do this role you don’t really need a CIPD. You don’t need that to be able to do this role. But there are some other sorts of HR roles that you will need a CIPD qualification.

The lack of a standard set of professional criteria for the job of managing diversity may be partially due to the fact that diversity management is a relatively new area of expertise for which formal education and work experience opportunities are limited.

Nevertheless, previous work experience in other fields is pointed out as important sources of expertise by the interview participants. Most of the respondents mentioned the importance of the expertise they brought into their diversity role from their previous work experience in other areas.

In addition, all of the respondents argued the main source of expertise for them has been ‘on the job learning’. A respondent from a private sector organisation summarised this as follows: “My training has been doing the job really”. The words of another respondent from a large private sector organisation also demonstrate that learning by doing is an important way of gaining expertise for diversity managers, who come from different professional areas:

I think the most important thing for me is that when you haven’t specifically come from a diversity background, you kind of assume that diversity is a separate thing which needs to have a whole separate organisational framework driver. But what’s been pleasurable and positive in my learning in XXX is that actually the best way to drive diversity is to make it part of the day to day experience.

Both interview evidence and survey results suggest that in the absence of formal education opportunities for professional development tailored to the needs of the job of managing diversity, a key source of expertise for diversity managers was learning through their day-to-day job of managing diversity. One of the pitfalls of learning on the job is that despite it offers diversity managers with the much needed expertise and experience, it equally may lead diversity managers to accept the hegemonic cultural norms and values of their organisations unquestioningly.

In addition to on the job learning, diversity managers gain expertise and skills for managing diversity by participating in events such as conferences and training programmes. Except the respondent who is the diversity manager of a local government organisation, all respondents reported that they had received some level of training on equality, diversity and legislation both internally and externally through training courses, seminars, conferences. For instance, the diversity manager from a large financial organisation said that he had had extensive training since he started to work in the field. He explained the depth of the training he had received as follows:

I’ve done courses on race, on disability, on gender. I’ve been on whole number of courses looking at the legislative framework, various seminars, perhaps not training per se but, they do sort of broaden your awareness through networking with other senior diversity practitioners. So I guess it’s been a tremendous amount of on the job learning over the years.

This respondent also points out the importance of diversity networks, which will be discussed later in this part. In a similar vein another respondent from private sector mentions the continuous nature of the learning process he has gone through:

The only thing I'd say is that you're always learning. I don't think I've ever been to any diversity event or been to any sort of meeting about diversity where I haven't learned something new. So it's very much, in my view, a journey. It's a long commitment to do things better.

In addition, a diversity manager in the national government organisation said that her diversity work was “informed by the lived experiences of individuals as well as it is from research, networking and conferences”. She also mentioned that she follows some publications to keep herself up to date with equality and diversity agenda in the UK and she advised other diversity managers to do the same:

I recommend to any diversity practitioners that they take Equal Opportunities Review which keeps people up to date on legislation and matters.

These findings show that despite the lack of formal education opportunities particular to the diversity management, diversity managers feed from several sources such as on the job learning, diversity training and events, in order to develop themselves professionally and to increase the amount of cultural capital at their disposal. Another important source for cultural capital, which contributes to higher levels of understanding and awareness of diversity and equality concerns, as emerged during the interviews, was personal histories of diversity managers themselves. Three respondents reported that they had direct experience related to diversity and equality issues in their personal lives. For instance, a diversity manager from a private sector organisation had a disability. The diversity manager from a public sector organisation in Northern Ireland said that he had been subjected to bullying in his organisation. Both of these respondents thought that their personal experiences with disadvantage and discrimination have impacted upon their diversity and equality perspectives.

Another respondent said that although he did not think he was discriminated against personally, he had a first hand experience of the issue through his family members: “I've had lots of experience working in my family with disability, for example my mother was blind. And also some experience of ethnic issues as well. It has an effect inevitably”. However, this does not suggest that understanding and awareness of equality and diversity issues are only possible through direct personal experiences. For instance, the diversity manager from a large public sector organisation jokingly said that although he is a white male, he considers himself to be a diversity champion:

I think being a personal champion making sure that your own management standards remain high and you're as open and as inclusive as you possibly can as a role model within the organisation... I'm always conscious as a guy who is in his early forties and white and male that I'm almost the stereotypical problem within an organisation as to why diversity issues don't always get progressed in the way that they should. That's one of the things that I'm conscious of that I'm probably almost a typical role model rather than a non-typical role model that can be a true sort of visible champion. I'm a visible champion but a visible champion as a white professional male.

As pointed out by several respondents personal commitment and championship play an important role in the job of managing diversity. However, it is important to note that not all diversity managers interviewed displayed a strong personal commitment to equality and diversity. Some of the respondents from both public and private sectors have been personally detached throughout their narrations, concentrating on the procedural aspects of their jobs. Within that framework, some respondents had a *long agenda* in terms of their approach to diversity management and they frequently pointed out that diversity management requires a "long-term commitment", it is a "long journey" or it is "about changing the culture and society". On the other hand, others had a *short agenda* which was reflected in their exclusive concentration on short term diversity management plans and programmes throughout their narrations. The words of a diversity manager from a large retail company also exemplify such a lack of long-term commitment:

Because there's so many things you could do, it's actually agreeing what are the things that are right through your business and trying to concentrate on those. If you try to do too much, you may end up doing nothing.

The main danger for diversity managers with such approaches is that a crowded and demanding short agenda may lead diversity managers to lose perspective and to overlook the necessity of a perspective for long-term change efforts. Social capital is as important as cultural capital for the efficiency and expertise of diversity managers. Formal and informal diversity and equality networks are the main sources of social capital for diversity managers. For instance, half of the questionnaire respondents believed that networking is an important skill for their job role. Interestingly, only 19 per cent of respondents reported that they are a member of a diversity network.

On the other hand, interview participants were much more involved in networks and networking activities compared to the questionnaire survey respondents. All but one emphasised the importance of the informal aspect of their learning process through their involvement in diversity and equality networks, and by personally networking with the

other diversity practitioners. All of these ten respondents were members of several diversity and equality networks. The networks mentioned by the respondents were eminent and nationwide diversity and equality networks in the UK, including national employer forums such as Race for Opportunity, Employers' Forum on Disability, Employers' Forum on Age, Opportunity Now. In fact, for most of the interview participants from both public and private sectors networks have been the most important source of expertise. To give a few examples, the diversity manager from a local government organisation, who believed that the main source of personal development for him is "working with and being with people from different communities who had expertise", said that "in the role that I've got the networks are vital". Similarly, the diversity manager from a large private company in financial sector made similar comments when I asked him about the most important source of expertise for his diversity management job:

To be honest, I think, it's having a very wide network of diversity professionals some of which you know will be heads of diversity in other companies, some will be consultants, some will work at the statutory commissions. And I think it's having a really wide circle of knowledgeable experts that I've been able to call upon, if I've ever been stuck really. That's been the most important source.

Clearly, being a part of diversity and equality networks as well as networking with other diversity and equality officers provide diversity managers with help and support in their diversity role. Such networks are also essential sources of knowledge, information and benchmarking, as the diversity managers of a global petrochemical company puts:

They keep us up to date about what is going on both in legislation and in the environment. They are useful for benchmarking.

Similarly, the diversity manager from a financial sector company pointed out the importance of support and direction provided by networks. She believed that networks are particularly crucial in times of confusion and difficulty brought by new legislation. She said:

For example, with the age legislation coming into force later on this year, all companies are at the same stage where they're really struggling with their direction in terms of the changes they need to make. And you won't just talk about that to other companies, but also to the companies in your own industry sector. As the financial sector, we all share information, so I think it's very useful.

In summary, research evidence reveals that opportunities for formal education and previous extended work experience in the field of diversity are limited due to the fact that the diversity management is a relatively new occupational area. As an effect, there is not a settled and standard set of professional qualifications in terms of the skills and education that would be sought by the employers when recruiting diversity managers. These findings suggest that professional boundaries in the field of diversity management are set through other means rather than limiting the entrance into the field by setting specific qualifications in terms of human capital. One of such boundary setting mechanisms is participating in formal and informal networks. The events such as training courses, seminars or conferences are valued by diversity managers as platforms for meeting other diversity and equality officers. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter Seven, interviews demonstrated the dominance of a blue-print terminology and a common rhetoric based on business case arguments. So, although diversity managers do not share common attributes regarding their skills, qualifications, educational and functional background, they clearly share a common language peculiar to the field of diversity management and use of this discourse is an important boundary setting strategy in terms of demarcating the lines of entry into the field. For instance, the diversity manager from a large financial company criticised diversity and equality officers who do not effectively communicate the diversity message through the ‘right’ discourse:

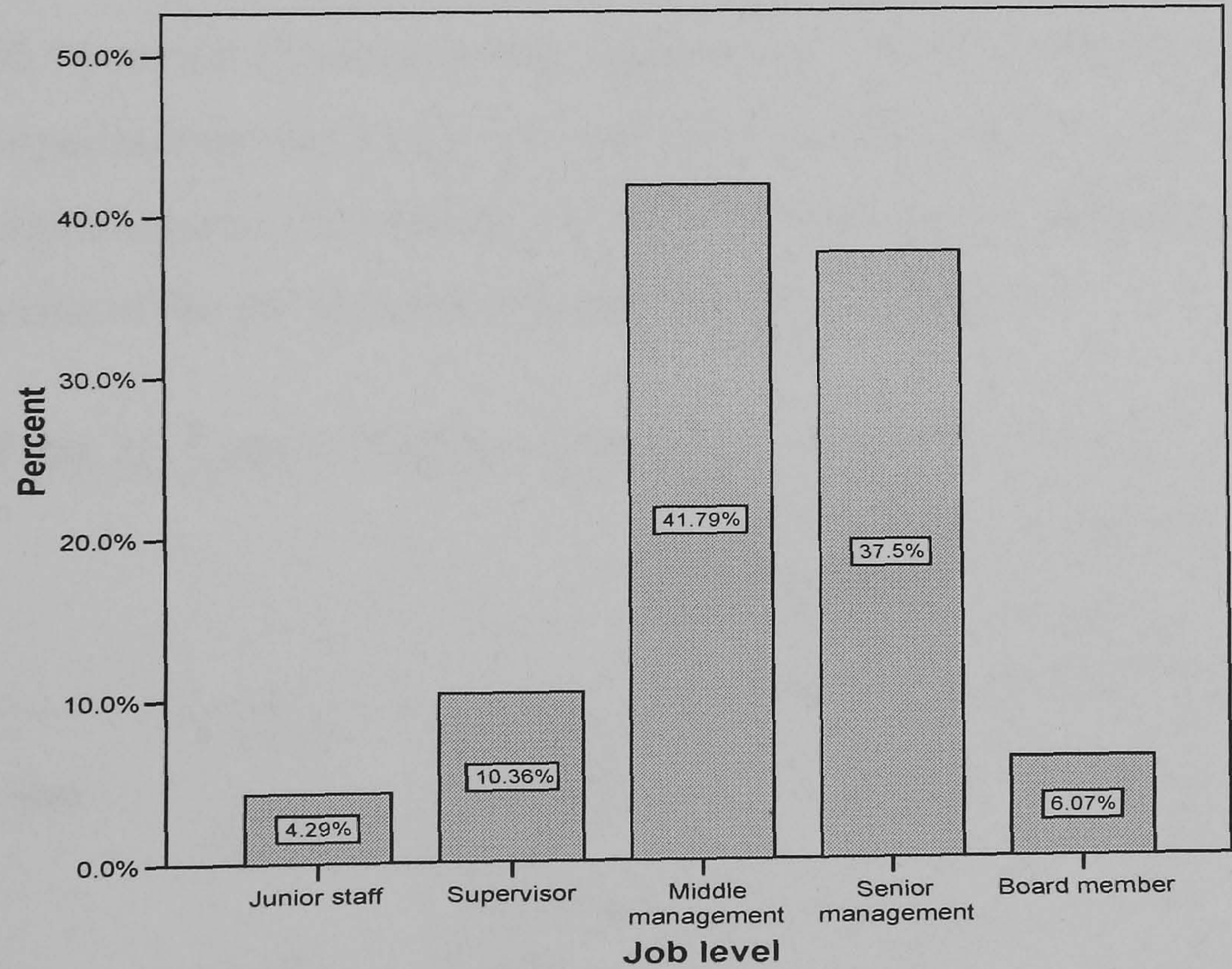
You have to make sure you tailor your communication to the right audience. Some diversity managers talk about compliance, and tell people they have to do it because it’s the law, but actually what you should be doing is telling people how they go about solving the problems and not actually chuck the law at them in the first instance. And I think a lot of people fall into that trap. Now what that does then is it alienates the person you’re discussing this with because they just won’t be engaged with it.

Furthermore, there was an agreement between the respondents that the most effective discourse to secure organisational involvement is based on business case arguments. Within that framework, networks are important media for reproduction of community of diversity and equality officers, and for transferring and sustaining a common diversity management discourse. Thus, use of the diversity management discourse and participating in the community of diversity managers are focal points of entry into the field of diversity management. This section searched for common qualifications, skills and expertise, which are required in order to access and enter the diversity management field as diversity managers. The next section explores the job status of diversity managers and how they are located in their organisation.

8.3 The job status and organisational position of diversity managers

In order to locate diversity managers as active professional actors within the field of diversity management, it is crucial to understand how they are positioned within their organisations. The job role and position of diversity managers within the organisational hierarchy and the level of authority allocated to them also illustrate the extent of centrality of the diversity management in the mainstream organisational policies and strategies. According to survey results, although 86.7 per cent of the respondents were employed full-time, only 15.5 per cent of them were contracted to work full-time on diversity management. Similarly, only three of the interview participants worked full-time on diversity management. For the others, diversity management was only a part of their job. The fact that diversity work is only one among many responsibilities of research participants is an important indication of organisational resources spared for diversity management and shows that organisations do not prioritise diversity management to the extent of creating full-time posts for the job of managing diversity. The questionnaire survey also included several other questions, which aim to uncover the positional authority of diversity managers. One of these questions asked respondents about their positioning in the organisational hierarchy (Table 23).

Table 23: At what level is your current role in the organisation?



Number of valid responses: 280

Parker (1999) points out that holding a senior position is an important source of organisational influence and authority for diversity and equality officers. Unfortunately, according to the survey results, the majority of the diversity managers (41.8%) were

middle managers. Similarly, the majority of interview participants (seven out of 11) were located at the middle management level, whereas four of them were senior managers, one of which working for a public sector organisation, and none of them were board members. The survey results suggested that job levels of diversity managers significantly varied in line with organisational size and sector (Tables 24 and 25).

Table 24: Cross tabulation of job level by sector

			Job level			Total
			Junior staff or supervisor	Middle management	Senior management or board member	
Sector	Private sector	Count	15	46	68	129
		Percentage	11.6%	35.7%	52.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	24	53	36	113
		Percentage	21.2%	46.9%	31.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	99	104	242
		Percentage	16.1%	40.9%	43.0%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 242
Pearson chi-square: 11.410, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .003

As can be seen in the table above, diversity managers who work for public sector organisations were more likely to be positioned at lower ranks of their organisations, compared to their counterparts in private sector organisations. However, the sectoral difference is also related to the configurations by organisational size in different sectors. 60.9 per cent of public sector organisations, which participated in the study, were large organisations whilst only 28.3 per cent of those from the private sector were large organisations. This finding also reflects that organisational size is an important factor in terms of the job levels of diversity managers (Table 25).

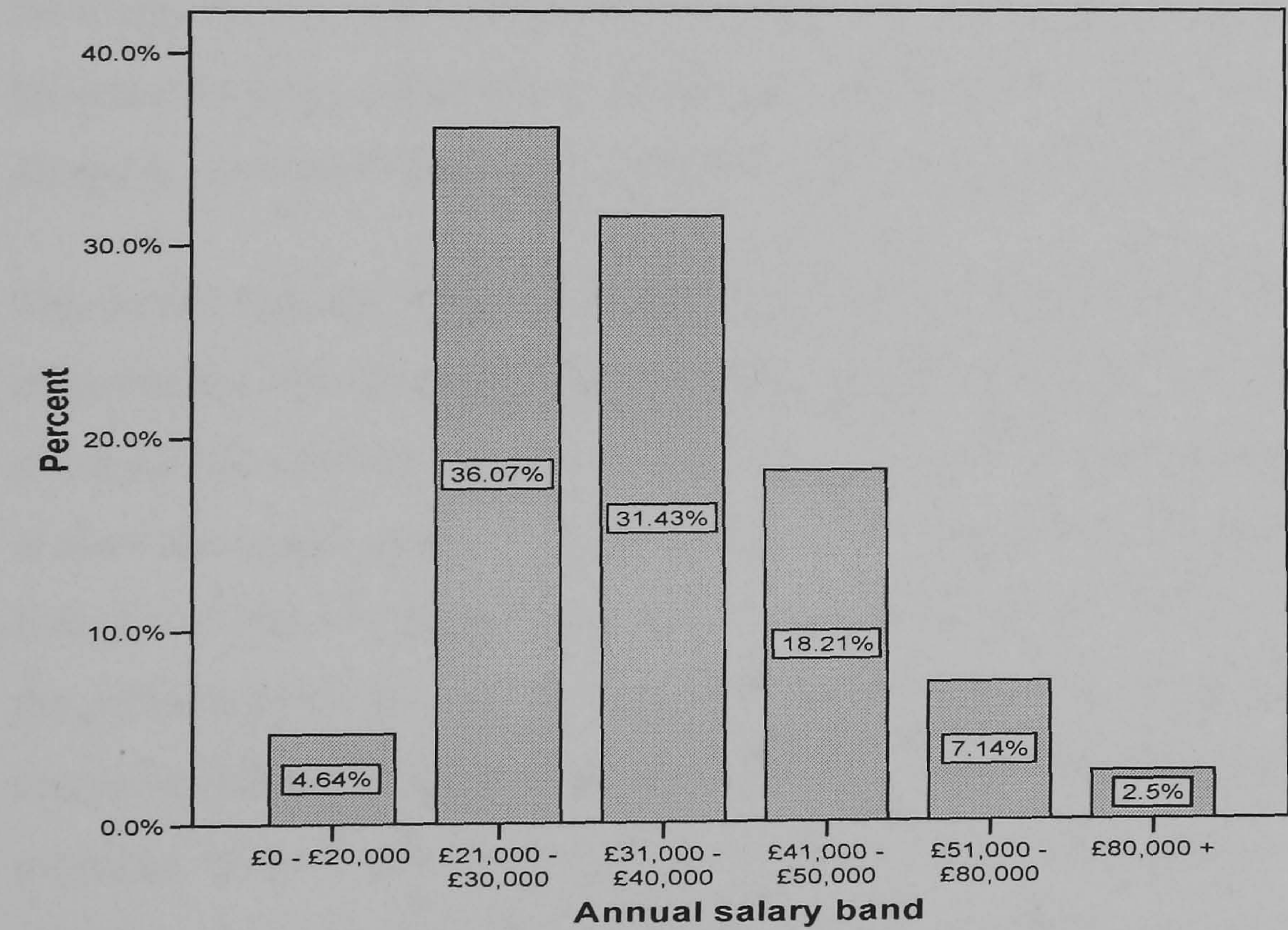
Table 25: Cross tabulation of job level by organisational size

			Job level			Total
			Junior staff or supervisor	Middle management	Senior management or board member	
Size	Small	Count	9	33	57	99
		Percentage	9.1%	33.3%	57.6%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	11	25	30	66
		Percentage	16.7%	37.9%	45.5%	100.0%
	Large	Count	17	56	33	106
		Percentage	16.0%	52.8%	31.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	37	114	120	271
		Percentage	13.7%	42.1%	44.3%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 271
Pearson chi-square: 15.490, degrees of freedom: 4, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .004

As can be seen in Table 25, in terms of organisational size, the majority of diversity managers, who work for large organisations were at middle management level (52.8%), whereas the figures were reversed for small organisations, where the majority of diversity managers held jobs as senior managers or board members. There may be two possible explanations for this difference. First, diversity management might be a part-time role given to an existing senior manager. Second, the organisational hierarchy in large organisations is generally more complex and multi-levelled. Still, the fact that only a few number of diversity managers are positioned at senior levels in large organisations has important implications for the agency of diversity managers. It is essential for diversity managers particularly in large and complex organisations to have power and influence over different functions and ranks in their organisations in order to implement diversity management policies and programmes (Acker 2000; Collinson et al. 1990; Lawrence 2000). Pay and benefits that a group of professional workers receive are other important indicators of their job position and status. The survey also asked respondents about their annual salary (Table 26).

Table 26 : Which of the following bands does your annual salary fall into?



Number of valid responses: 280

According to the survey results, the majority of the respondents (67.5%) earn between £21,000 and £40,000 annually. The size and sector of organisations they work for did not make a statistically significant difference to the annual salaries of diversity managers, who completed the survey. Given the fact that 72 per cent of the respondents were between 31 and 50 years old of age, which indicates that the majority of them

were in their mid-careers, their salaries can be considered low. The job status and salaries of diversity managers are also demonstrations of the extent of organisational commitment for diversity. In that sense, evidence from the interviews and questionnaire survey suggests that organisations in the UK do not prioritise diversity management. The survey also included statements, which explore the satisfaction levels of diversity managers (see Table 27).

Table 27: How satisfied are you with the following?

	Percentage of respondents					Number of valid responses
	Extremely dissatisfied 1	2	3	4	Extremely satisfied 5	
The recognition you get for your diversity work	7.1	22.0	48.9	17.5	4.5	268
Your chance of promotion	10.8	26.1	40.7	18.7	3.7	268

As demonstrated in Table 27, only 22 per cent of the survey respondents felt satisfied with the level of recognition they received for their diversity work. Similarly, only 22.4 per cent reported that they were satisfied with their chances of promotion. Considering the relatively poor standing of their job status and pay, which indicate their power and influence in their organisations, it was not surprising that satisfaction levels among diversity managers were low in terms of their job prospects and the recognition they get.

The survey data also suggested that most of the respondents were located in the HRM departments. This finding clearly conflicts with the propositions of mainstream diversity management scholars, who try to make a distinction between equal opportunities which is associated personnel management and diversity management which is allegedly linked to a wider range of functional specialisations above and beyond HRM. In fact, the positioning of diversity management and diversity office within the human resources function was an important concern for some of the interview respondents. For example, the diversity adviser in a governmental department argued that in order to be effective, diversity managers need to be located centrally in the organisation instead of being marginalised in human resource departments:

You’ve also got to get them in the core of the business not in HR. They have to be right there at the centre of the business. And they’ve got to have a network and means, a golden tread of where they can get into all the different functions and parts of the organisation. So they can help the organisation better understand it and get diversity proactively mainstreamed into their business plans rather than reactively.

The diversity manager of a large financial sector organisation similarly argued against locating diversity management within the human resources function:

We report directly into the deputy group executive and that reflects that our equality and diversity strategy covers all organisational issues. I mean clearly HR issues are a big part of it, but we also have brief for customers, IT systems so on. So therefore it would be inappropriate to be a HR function. That's why we are very clearly positioned as a corporate function. We have 13 staff some of which are part of the central core equality and diversity function that work on central initiatives. Rest of our team known as business partners, their job is to be the interface between the central strategy and then the managing directors that they look after... The fact that we've got 13 people in our team means that we've got number of diversity professionals including one person in the diversity team has a background in marketing. So I think that gives us a lot of credibility when parts of the business come to us to ask for our help and advice.

His words clearly show that the location of the diversity office and the person of diversity manager within the organisational structure can act as a key resource or constraint for diversity managers' credibility and positional authority. However, according to the interview evidence, only this respondent's organisation located the diversity office separately as a corporate function. In the case of the other organisations, which participated in the qualitative part of the research, the diversity office and the diversity manager were located within human resource departments.

In addition to the individual position of the diversity or equality officer within the organisational hierarchy, the presence of a diversity office, and if there is a diversity office, its position, status and resources within the organisational structure are important indicators of diversity managers' job status and power. The organisational authority and position of the diversity office exert a direct influence on diversity managers' levels of positional power and legitimacy to make decisions and take action. So, the survey included questions, which explore the position, status and resources allocated to the diversity office. Among these were the most basic and fundamental questions about presence of a separate diversity office and budget for diversity management (Table 28).

Table 28: Presence of a specialised diversity function and a budget for diversity

	Percentage of respondents		
	No	Yes	Number of valid responses
Is there a specialised diversity/equal opportunities function in your organisation?	64.0	36.0	275
Does your organisation have a budget for diversity?	69.7	30.3	271

The survey results showed that in 64 per cent of the organisations there is not even a specialised diversity or equal opportunities function and 69.7 per cent of the

organisations do not have a budget for diversity. Thus, the evidence once again suggested a lack of resources for diversity management, with only few organisations having a diversity or equal opportunities function and a budget for diversity. There were significant sectoral and size differences between the organisations which do and do not have diversity function and diversity budget (Appendix VI, Tables F.1 to F.4).

First, large organisations were more likely to have both a specialised diversity function and a budget for diversity compared to SMEs. Given their relatively limited financial and human resources, the absence of a diversity office and diversity budget in SMEs is not surprising. What is more striking is the difference between sectors in terms of availability of diversity function and budget. The percentages of public sector organisations, which have a specialised diversity function (63.1%) and a budget for diversity (50%) were significantly higher than that of private sector organisations (16.7% and 12.2% respectively) and voluntary sector organisations (22.2% and 30.6% respectively). The relatively better conditions in public sector in terms of the presence of diversity function and diversity budget means that diversity managers in the public sector were provided with a greater amount of organisational resources in comparison to their colleagues in private and voluntary sectors.

Nevertheless, even the figures for public sector in terms of availability of a diversity budget and a specialised diversity function were not high particularly considering the fact that majority of public sector organisations, which participated in the survey were large-sized. In contrast, almost two thirds (61.4%) of the respondents state that the tasks they have undertaken in relation to managing diversity have increased in the last years. Conversely, only 13.7 per cent of them reported that the number of people under their supervision has increased in parallel with the increase in their tasks.

Similar concerns were voiced by some of the interview participants as well. For example, when I asked about the challenges of her job, the diversity manager of the global petrochemicals company complained: “Sometimes, the will is there but the time and money is not”. In a similar vein, diversity adviser in the governmental department pointed out the negative impact of lack of resources on the progress of diversity management initiatives. Commenting on the organisations, which use the diversity management tool she has developed, she said:

In one of my two clients that have been using the model so far, they have a good knowledge and understanding of diversity, but time pressures, work

pressures have prevented them going all the way through and coming back for assessment.

These findings demonstrate that diversity and equality officers are overstretched in terms of their job role and try to function with very limited financial and human resources. In addition, diversity offices and officers seem to be short of the necessary level of power and influence to monitor and control other organisational actors and functions as a part of their diversity management role (Table 29).

Table 29: How much influence/authority do the diversity function and the most senior person in the diversity function have within your organisation?

Influence / authority	Percentage of respondents					Number of respondents
	No influence/power 1	2	3	4	High influence/power 5	
Diversity function	2.9	16.5	38.8	34.1	7.6	170
Most senior diversity person	4.3	15.2	33.2	37.0	10.3	184

As demonstrated in Table 29, only 47.3 per cent of the survey respondents, who answered the question, believed that the most senior person of the diversity function has some level of authority over others in the organisation. Similarly, only 41.7 per cent of the respondents thought that the diversity office is influential within the organisation. There was no statistically significant difference between organisations from different sectors and in different sizes in terms of power of diversity function and most senior diversity person. This evidence uncovered that managing diversity is not prioritised in the organisations in the UK. The fact that organisational resources committed to diversity management and to the person of diversity managers are limited also shows that organisations do not seem to recognise the alleged added value of workforce diversity to the bottom line.

Exacerbating the marginalisation of diversity managers in positions with little authority and influence, and mostly in HRM departments, is also their lowly pay and contingent working conditions. The fact that only 16 per cent of the survey respondents were contracted to work full-time on diversity management suggests that diversity management is still only a partial job for diversity managers. Furthermore, in most of the organisations, there was not a diversity office and two thirds of the organisations did not have a budget for diversity management. These findings highlight that being a diversity manager is not among the most prestigious and resourceful roles in the organisations. So, in relation to their job status and power, diversity managers do not only lack symbolic capital, i.e. seniority and influence over different organisational

actors, but also lack economic capital, i.e. human resources and budget devoted to diversity management. The next section explores another possible source of symbolic capital for diversity managers: organisational support and ownership.

8.4 The organisational support for diversity managers

As discussed in the previous section, diversity managers most of the time lack the positional authority to influence different functions of their organisations, although diversity management is frequently associated with an organisational change process in the academic and practitioner literatures. This dilemma, which diversity managers face, due to their job status and position in the organisational hierarchy, might be overcome if the diversity managers are provided with support through other organisational mechanisms. Within that framework two organisational mechanisms through which diversity managers could increase the amount of symbolic capital they own are senior management support, and integration of diversity objectives into the different functions or business areas of the organisation.

To start with the issue of senior management support, Agocs (1997: 925) explains the crucial impact of support by organisational power holders on the influence and effectiveness of change agents as follows:

It is not the knowledge or expertise in itself that is the source of power and a resource for organisational change: it is the knowledge upon which authorities have conferred legitimacy and assimilated into the organisation's ideological framework. Whether a change message will be accorded legitimacy is the choice and decision of authorities.

In all interviews, the importance of senior management support was one of few issues that all respondents felt very strongly about. The diversity manager of a financial sector organisation believed that getting senior management involved in the diversity management process is by far the most important and most challenging aspect of the job of managing diversity. He argued:

I think what's actually crucial is that the diversity manager must have an exceptionally good working relationship with the company's top management. He or she needs to know the chief executive or the permanent secretary and must have their total backing. The plans have to be agreed at the most senior decision making level. Unless you've got strong organisational commitment, very little gets achieved.

The situation was not dissimilar in the public sector either. For instance, diversity manager of a local government organisation claimed that expertise and effectiveness of diversity managers are "essentially about having access to all positional authorities or

access to a champion that allows you the positional authority to make a difference within the organisation”. He added that his success in his organisation in terms of promoting the diversity agenda is closely related to his ability of “getting access to and working closely with decision makers and talking their language. It’s also having an internal network to have people, who trust you and you trust them to actually work with and develop the agenda”.

Thus, there was a clear agreement among interviewees that senior management support is a necessity for them to be legitimate and influential players within their organisations. The questionnaire survey evidence also confirmed this finding. The survey included several statements, which explore the organisational support given to diversity managers (Table 30).

Table 30: Organisational support for diversity management (Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.)

	Percentage of respondents				
	Strongly disagree 1	2	3	4	Strongly agree 5
In my organisation senior management encourage diversity	4.3	16.5	35.6	27.3	16.2
It is very important for my diversity role to know the names and faces of senior staff and being able to approach them easily	0.0	1.8	9.2	41.5	47.4
My organisation aims to make sure that diversity and equality are at the heart of everything it does	4.0	25.3	32.5	27.1	11.2

As presented in the Table 30, the majority of respondents (88.9%) agreed with the statement of ‘It is very important for my diversity role to know the names and faces of senior staff and being able to approach them easily’. However, only 43.5 per cent of the respondents stated that in his/her organisation ‘senior management encourages diversity’ with only 16.2 per cent of the respondents strongly agreeing with the statement.

Interview respondents seemed to be more positive about the senior management support that they get for diversity management policies and programmes. Research participants from both public and private sectors stated that there is strong senior management support and ownership for diversity in their organisations. For example the diversity manager from a local government organisation responded to my question about senior management involvement with a rhetorical question: “It’s very difficult for a public sector to say that we don’t own it isn’t it?”. He, then, explained that as a public sector

organisation they “have statutory and societal obligations. It engenders a culture which is multi-racial and multi-ethnic”.

The diversity manager from a large financial sector organisation strongly argued that there is ownership for diversity management at the highest level of her organisation. She exemplified that by describing how senior managers personally champion the diversity agenda:

Ok, well, the way it's set up is that we have an executive diversity group and that is made up of about half of our group executive committee, so that's very much about senior leadership engagements, and our chief exec, personally championed the disability agenda and he's very engaged in that, so that's the kind of senior level. Then within each of the business areas there are appointed champions who are at senior level, so within UK banking, for example, the gender champion is also the head of retail banking, and their role is not to do all the work but to kind of champion diversity in their particular bit of it and to make things happen, you know, and to drive things forward.

Similarly, the diversity manager of the large retail company emphasised that there is a support for diversity management at the highest hierarchical level of the organisation:

Sponsorship is at the highest level, one of our board of directors and the steering group and a series of other directors show particular interest in the subject obviously, commercial marketing etc. I think it is as high as it could be in terms of profile.

The diversity manager of a financial sector organisation explained that involvement and ownership of senior management is crucial for implementation of diversity management policies and programmes across different functional areas of an organisation. He pointed out that diversity managers are not positioned in organisations to deliver the diversity programmes, and that their role is rather to facilitate and guide the delivery and implementation of these programmes by the line managers as a part of their daily job. According to him, in order to effectively realise their role as facilitators, diversity managers need to be backed by senior management. He said:

The thing is our whole programme is signed off by our group executive committee, our board. So the strategy isn't by the equality and diversity department, but actually by the very top management. They sign it off, then it's our job with key stakeholders to actually deliver it. We can't deliver it, because we don't recruit people or we don't serve customers or so on. We are very clearly positioned as facilitators. It's very clear in XXX that the actual point of delivery of diversity has to be individual line managers as a part of their everyday jobs.

Such an emphasis on diversity managers’ ability to liaise with the power holders at both senior and middle management levels was also evident throughout the interview with the diversity manager of another financial sector company. In her own words:

Well, I think what we do is, I mean, in terms of like high level policies they obviously need to be signed off at a very high level by in terms of like our chief executive et cetera. If you’re trying to do sort of initial initiative at a slightly lower level of the organisation you should use the right channels to get in. So for example, you’d want to get sign off from HR business partners who are kind of out there in the business areas. You’ll want to get sign off naturally from the head of this department of course who will sponsor all those activities and will promote those activities at her level to ensure the right messages are cascaded down.

So, it is clear from these findings that organisational support not only at senior management level, but also middle management level has a decisive impact on organisational power and effectiveness of diversity managers. It is also suggested in the literature that senior management support and ownership as well as involvement of other organisational actors are important determinants of the status and authority of the diversity managers and equality officers (Meyerson 2001ab; Parker 1999).

Consequently, support and ownership of diversity management policies and programmes by organisational actors at different levels and functions of an organisation is one of the key sources of symbolic capital for diversity managers. The questionnaire survey asked respondents about the levels of personal ownership assumed by different organisational actors in diversity related activities and issues (see Table 31).

Table 31: How much personal ownership do people at the following levels assume in diversity-related activities and issues?

Organisational level	Percentage of respondents				
	No ownership 1	2	3	4	Total ownership 5
Board members	10.4	15.5	30.7	27.5	15.9
Senior management	5.1	12.8	32.7	36.2	13.2
Middle management	6.0	19.8	43.3	22.6	8.3
Junior management	8.3	27.0	42.9	17.5	4.4
Non-managerial workers	15.0	30.4	41.9	10.7	2.0
Trade union representatives	8.0	10.9	44.0	28.0	9.1

The findings, as presented in Table 31, demonstrated that level of ownership decreases with level of authority in the organisations participated in the survey. Highest level of ownership was reported to be assumed by board members and senior management who display some level of or total ownership regarding diversity issues in 43.4 per cent and 44.5 per cent of the organisations respectively. This figure decreases by job level to 27.4

per cent for middle management, 19.3 per cent for junior management, and 11.3 per cent for non-managerial workers.

Although the highest level of ownership is assumed at the board and senior management levels, the survey results suggest that there is some level of ownership at these levels in less than half of the organisations participated in the research. However, this evidence on poor levels of senior management ownership is not surprising in the light of other survey findings. In fact, it only confirms one of the findings presented earlier in Table 30, which demonstrates that only less than half of the survey participants thought that senior management encourages diversity in their organisations. When the reported levels of ownership by organisational actors at different levels are checked, it was evident that organisational size did not make a statistically significant difference. However, the chi-square tests demonstrated a significantly higher levels of ownership of diversity related issues and activities by middle managers and trade union representatives in public and voluntary sectors than in private sector (see Appendix VI, Tables G.1 and G.2). Strikingly, higher levels of ownership by middle managers were also associated with greater possibility of an availability of diversity function in organisations as illustrated in Table 32.

Table 32: Cross tabulation of presence of diversity function by middle management ownership

			Middle management ownership			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1 and 2)	3	High levels of ownership (4 and 5)	
Presence of a diversity function	No	Count	42	75	40	157
		Percentage	26.8%	47.8%	25.5%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	22	32	38	92
		Percentage	23.9%	34.8%	41.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	107	78	249
		Percentage	25.7%	43.0%	31.3%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 249
 Pearson chi-square: 7.097, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .029

As Table 32 demonstrates, a high level of middle management ownership was associated with a greater likelihood of presence of a diversity function and vice versa. An interpretation of this association can be that middle managers are more likely to display ownership for diversity management activities when there is a diversity office in the organisation. Thus, the presence of a diversity office is a crucial source of organisational power and legitimacy for diversity managers in terms of their ability to monitor and get middle managers involved in the process of diversity management.

Furthermore, survey findings highlighted the influence of trade unions on the organisational resources devoted to diversity management. Table 33 summarises the rates of diversity budget presence according to different levels of ownership by trade union representatives.

Table 33: Cross tabulation of presence of diversity budget by trade union representative ownership

			Trade union representatives			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1 and 2)	3	High levels of ownership (4 and 5)	
Presence of a budget for diversity	No	Count	27	46	28	101
		Percentage	26.7%	45.5%	27.7%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	4	30	36	70
		Percentage	5.7%	42.9%	51.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	31	76	64	171
		Percentage	18.1%	44.4%	37.4%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 171
Pearson chi-square: 16.350, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .000

As demonstrated in Table 33, 51.4 per cent of the organisation who had a diversity budget also reported strong trade union ownership. Thus, a diversity budget is more likely to be present in organisations with high levels of trade union ownership for diversity related issues. The higher the levels of ownership of diversity by trade union representatives, the higher the likelihood for organisations to have not only a budget for diversity but also a diversity function (Table 34).

Table 34: Cross tabulation of presence of diversity function by trade union representative ownership

			Trade union representatives			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1 and 2)	3	High levels of ownership (4 and 5)	
Presence of a diversity function	No	Count	23	46	25	94
		Percentage	24.5%	48.9%	26.6%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	9	30	40	79
		Percentage	11.4%	38.0%	50.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	32	76	65	173
		Percentage	18.5%	43.9%	37.6%	100.0%

Number of valid cases: 173
Pearson chi-square: 11.743, degrees of freedom: 2, asymptotic significance (two-sided): .003

These findings, which uncover the association between trade union ownership and the presence of diversity function and budget, is very compelling in terms of the research questions of this thesis since they demonstrate that the agency of diversity managers is

influenced not only by internal organisational factors, but also by extra-organisational pressures. As also cited in literature (e.g. Bradley et al. 2002, 2004, 2007; Healy et al. 2004a; Kirton and Greene 2000), trade unions are important external actors, which exert influence on organisational diversity management processes and structures. Thus, collaboration with and support from trade union representatives may potentially provide diversity managers with greater levels of power, legitimacy and resources.

Finally, another factor which predicted the presence of a diversity function and a budget for diversity was ownership of diversity related issues and activities by board members (see Appendix VI, Tables H.1 and H.2). The survey findings revealed that there was more likely to be a specialised diversity function and a budget for diversity in organisations with high levels of board member ownership. As discussed before, the importance of top management support for the effectiveness of and resources for managing diversity is cited frequently in the diversity management literature.

It was, nevertheless, evident that the ownership of diversity management activities was located in senior management and board levels, rather than in lower managerial grades. In other words, the state of organisational support for diversity management was even bleaker when ownership and involvement of organisational actors at lower levels were considered. A diversity manager from a local government organisations agreed that involving middle managers at different functions was one of the biggest challenges of the diversity managers' job. He argued that in his organisation, there is a strong senior management support for diversity, but ownership at the level of middle management varies across different functional areas:

I think in areas where the core part of the job you do involves working with the local community, groups in social deprivation, obviously the awareness, the energy and the leadership is particularly strong. In other areas, an example might be traffic and transportation where these are not as obvious, then it's probably a more generic understanding, a generic familiarity with the issues in terms of raising awareness. But far less embedded into how we might address any local issues in relation to access to roads and access to transport.

Research findings suggested that strong and formalised organisational support for diversity management were important for mobilising individual organisational actors at different levels to get them involved in diversity management processes. Dobbs (1996) notes two formal mechanisms through which individual ownership for diversity can be promoted in organisations. The first is embedding of diversity management objectives into the business plans and strategies of different organisational functions in order to ensure that diversity is one of the key concerns in the day-to-day running of the organisation. The second is the integration of diversity management targets into the

performance assessments of individual managers at both senior and middle levels. Through these two formal mechanisms, diversity management can be placed high on the agenda of different organisational actors. This, in turn, engenders organisational legitimacy and support for diversity managers' actions (Acker 2000; Meyerson 2001a; Parker 1999).

All of the interview participants believed that integration of diversity management across their organisations is crucial. More interestingly, when I asked them about what they think is the way forward in their organisation in terms of diversity management, all respondents stressed embedding diversity in the organisational mainstream,. The diversity manager of a financial sector organisation believed that organisational change cannot be achieved as long as diversity management is seen as marginal to the core of business. She said:

I think the risk for a lot of companies is that they have a separate team that just does stuff like you know kind of events and things like that and newsletters, but it's not actually embedded into the business processes, and that's where you get the real difference. So when it's not an extra, it's actually just part of the way you do business. But that's a tough challenge for an organisation.

Her feelings about the difficulty of integration of diversity concerns across organisation were shared by the other respondents as well. The respondent from a governmental department felt that this aspect of her job was the most frustrating:

The other thing that's particularly frustrating for me is that diversity should be mainstreamed in everything. You know one size doesn't fit all. But it's not a quick fix. There is a lot of understanding that needs to take place. So the education process is ongoing.

Similarly, the diversity manager of a local government organisation believed that the task ahead is to integrate diversity into organisational culture and mainstream business, which he thought to be a major challenge and a continuous process of awareness raising:

To be honest I think the hard work is around embedding and integration of what we do now. I think it's more about to continue to raise awareness, spreading the message, building into the way things get done around here, so the culture of the organisation in terms of business plans and targets.

Another respondent from a global financial sector company also agreed that integration of diversity across organisational functions and ranks requires an ongoing effort to educate individual organisational actors, particularly the line managers, who hold a key positional authority in promotion, delivery and implementation of diversity

management policies and programmes. She pointed out that the challenge is even larger for companies like hers with fragmented businesses:

In terms of other things, I think for us the challenge for this organisation, we've a very fragmented business, is to communicate across the very fragmented business. It can be a challenge to get people to take ownership of those issues as well and not to put them in the "too difficult" box. I think inevitably diversity is sometimes put into the "too difficult box" and that's what we need to try and educate people not to do. So it's an education process. It's a continual awareness raising as well, so create a momentum. If you create a momentum, then once that's lost, it's very difficult to then pick that up with a line manager.

However, the questionnaire survey results were not encouraging in terms of integration of diversity concerns across organisation. Only 37.2 per cent of the respondents reported that their organisations 'aim to make sure that diversity and equality are at the heart of everything it does' and 70.5 per cent of the organisations completed the survey did not build diversity into their business goals. One of the sections of the survey aimed to explore the level of integration of diversity management into the mainstream business in more detail. Respondents were asked to what extent diversity is central to the different departments in their organisations (Table 35).

Table 35: To what extent is diversity central to activities in the following departments in your organisation?

Functions	Percentage of respondents				
	Not central 1	2	3	4	Very central 5
Human resources	.8	3.2	14.8	39.6	41.6
Advertising	6.6	6.6	25.9	38.6	22.3
Customers and consumers	6.4	9.2	33.5	29.5	21.4
CSR	8.8	12.7	29.4	28.4	20.6
Strategic management/corporate strategy	9.9	9.9	26.8	33.3	20.2
Marketing and sales	23.6	16.7	25.0	18.8	16.0
Manufacturing and production	27.2	25.9	28.4	12.3	6.2
Suppliers	18.9	26.5	31.8	18.9	3.8
Finance and accounting	31.8	28.4	28.4	9.1	2.3

As demonstrated in Table 35, diversity was central to the human resources function in 81.2 per cent of the organisations. This might be expected given that the majority of diversity managers were situated in HRM departments and the survey came from the CIPD. Diversity was central to communication and advertising in 53.6 per cent of the organisations; to strategic management in 53.5 per cent; and to corporate social responsibility in 49 per cent. However, the figures dropped when it came to 'core' business functions with only 11.4 per cent of the respondents reporting that diversity is

central in their finance and accounting function; 18.5 per cent in the manufacturing and production, and 34.8 per cent in marketing and sales function.

There was no statistically significant difference between different sizes of organisations in terms of levels of integration of diversity across organisational functions whereas some sectoral differences were present. Diversity was more likely to be central to organisational functions related to strategic management and corporate strategy, human resources, and customers and consumers in public and voluntary sector organisations compared to the organisations in private sector (see Appendix VI, Tables I.1 to I.3). Once again, the findings confirmed that private sector lagged significantly behind public and voluntary sectors in terms of managing diversity.

Nevertheless, integration of diversity concerns into the operations of ‘core’ business functions such as finance and accounting, manufacturing and production, and marketing and sales, was equally low in all sectors. Thus, diversity management was not an integral part of the organisational life in the organisations, which completed the survey and still enjoyed a marginal status. The marginal status of diversity management is also reflected in the lack of serious consideration of diversity related goals throughout the processes of performance assessment in organisations. Only 18.6 per cent of the respondents reported that diversity is a performance criterion in their organisations. Similarly, diversity related goals were included in managers’ performance assessments in only 15.8 per cent of the organisations. Not surprisingly, only 48 organisations out of 285 integrated diversity management goals and objectives into the balanced scorecards of managers.

The organisations, which participated in the qualitative part of the study did not seem to be achieving better than the survey participants in terms of integrating diversity into their performance assessment systems. Despite the fact that interview respondents were much more positive in terms of the senior management support and organisational commitment they had, only a few organisations had diversity related goals and objectives robustly included among key performance criteria for managers. In fact, only two organisations included diversity in the balanced scorecards of managers. One of these two was a global financial sector company, whose diversity manager stated:

What we actually have is, diversity is actually one of our group capabilities; it’s actually one of the things that managers’ performance is scored on, and that’s all managers. That’s essential; it’s an integral part... The thing is they’re expected to own those issues because you know it is part of their objectives, so it is actually part of their capabilities, part of their objectives, so they actually have to show ownership.

The other organisation which integrated diversity related targets into balance scorecards was a local government organisation. The diversity manager of the organisation said that diversity is an important part of the performance appraisals of senior managers and that the organisation is currently in the process of including similar criteria in the balanced scorecards of middle managers as well. He said:

With senior managers, clearly, they've got targets to achieve. It is in their balanced scorecards and it's also part of their performance and development reviews. For middle managers, that's beginning to cascade now down. It's a core part of the council's business plan and that translates into local objectives of all managers.

On the other hand, when I asked whether diversity is a part of balanced scorecards of managers, responses of other nine participants indicated that this was not the case. The diversity manager of a financial sector organisation argued that the company integrated diversity into performance assessment for managers in varying degrees across different functions and levels. She explained:

I think that varies. There are, for example, in some business areas it is mandatory to complete certain types of training, equality and diversity training, before you're able to recruit or performance manage staff, so completion of that training and indeed other regulatory training is part of your performance management. In other areas it's captured directly within performance plans and in others it's captured within the guiding principles. Guiding principles are within everybody's performance plan so diversity is captured at least indirectly if not directly.

On the other hand, in their responses in an effort to draw a positive picture of their company, some participants were more rhetorical. For example, the diversity manager from a large retail company suggested that the company has general 'people measures' which indirectly evaluate managers' performance in terms of diversity as well. She claimed:

I think what we've tried to do with "everyone is welcome at XXX" is to make diversity a part of the mainstream work. We haven't given them a separate key performance indicator but we have people measures, all the measures that are important to diversity. So making sure that people are treated with respect and making sure that each of our individual stores keeping absence lower and making sure lower turnover overall.

Similarly, the diversity manager of a financial sector organisation believed that it is not necessary to have standard formal measures to monitor managers across the company in terms of their performance in relation to diversity and that such an attempt could even prove to be impractical. It was interesting to hear such a half-hearted response from this

participant, particularly because he praised robustness, strength and systematic nature of his company's approach to diversity management throughout the interview. Below is his answer to my question of whether diversity management is part of senior and middle managers' balanced scorecards in his company:

Not directly. We do have group targets and they're broken down by business unit. And managing directors get a dashboard regularly which shows them their progress and their goals. The group executive directors who manage the managing directors will obviously have discussions with them about how well they are achieving their diversity goals. But the balanced scorecard doesn't include those goals. But that's not to say that managing directors are not accountable because they are. I suppose every department in an organisation sets measures. It would be impractical to put every measure in every managing director's scorecard.

In summary, the survey findings as well as the interview evidence suggested that organisational support for diversity management and the person of diversity manager was patchy and weak overall in the majority of participant organisations. This poor state of organisational support was due to the insufficient levels of ownership from organisational actors at different levels and function, and due to the absence of formal mechanisms such as use of balanced scorecards and mainstreaming of diversity in order to promote strong ownership and involvement.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter elaborated the components of diversity managers' professional identity, in its institutionalised form, by exploring the issues of expertise and skills, job status and organisational support. An analysis of legitimate sources of power for diversity managers was offered by incorporating an investigation of different forms of capital that are functional in the field of diversity management. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) put forward that different forms of capital owned by individual agents do not have fixed values, but their relative value depends on the rules and norms prevailing in the specific field in question. The analysis of the empirical evidence that is generated in this study demonstrates the value of Bourdieu's conceptual categories for organisational and management research.

The analysis of interview and survey data suggested that there were no general criteria about the composition and total amount of capital, particularly in terms of human capital traits, which is necessary in order to enter into the occupation. On the other hand, the ability to effectively use the popular discourse of diversity and involvement in the

diversity management community, which includes formal and informal diversity networks, emerged as an important component of the skills and competence portfolio of diversity managers. Particularly considering the lack of settled criteria in terms of cultural capital, parameters of and legitimacy to enter into the field is flexible as long as diversity managers adopt the 'right' discourse and gain access to professional community networks. In that sense, the use of the 'right' discourse and involvement in networks which include significant actors in the field of diversity management are keys to accumulation of symbolic and social capitals as well as economic capital in terms of budget and resources for organisational diversity management programmes and activities.

At the organisational level, two key sources of symbolic capital for diversity managers are their positional authority and the organisational support they receive. Several scholars stated that change agents and diversity and equality officers alike may face an institutionalised resistance in their organisations, and may find themselves in an ambiguous and ambivalent situation if their job responsibilities and their organisational position do not match (Acker 2000; Agocs 1997; Collinson et al. 1990; Lawrence 2000). Unfortunately, the findings were not very positive in terms of authority, influence and resources allowed to diversity office and diversity managers themselves. Diversity managers as professional actors were short of positional authority and organisational support, both of which are key sources of symbolic capital, and which may provide them with the capacity and ability to enact diversity management policies and programmes that engender an organisational change. One of the striking findings presented in this chapter was related to the trade union and sectoral influences on the levels of organisational power and resources of diversity managers. The survey evidence uncovered that trade union ownership for diversity management provided diversity managers with greater levels of organisational resources such as the presence of a specialised diversity function and a budget for diversity. Furthermore, diversity managers in the public sector were more empowered and had access to wider opportunities for professional development compared to their colleagues in the private sector. Here, it is worth noting that commitment to diversity and equality in the public sector is to a large extent driven by regulatory mechanisms such as public duties on race and gender. Thus, diversity managers' professional identity coupled with influence and legitimacy accorded to this identity, is not a straightforward outcome of organisational

dynamics and individual competencies. Instead, it is also shaped by extra-organisational actors and structures.

The present chapter and Chapters Six and Seven mapped out the governing mechanisms and logic of the field of diversity management. Based on a case study of Ford Motor Company, the next two chapters explore the meso-organisational and micro-individual dynamics, which draw the boundaries of diversity managers' agency.

Chapter Nine

Analysing the Organisational *Habitus* and Subfield: Case of a Global Automobile Manufacturing Company

9.1 Introduction

Within a multilevel framework, understanding the agency of diversity managers requires an investigation of organisational level dynamics as diversity managers' role involves working through organisational structures in order to implement diversity management policies and practices (DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996). As proposed by the analytical framework in Chapter Four, the meso-organisational level of diversity managers' agency includes organisational *habitus* and organisational subfield.

Organisational *habitus* refers to subjective organisational structures whereas organisational subfield includes objective structures pertaining to the organisation.

Organisational *habitus* denotes the organisational culture and memory, which informally govern the conduct of action and interaction in the organisation. Since the organisational *habitus* is the hybrid of past and present, the analysis of it within the scope of diversity management research urges a critical engagement with the past and present culture of the organisation. On the other hand, the organisational subfield brings in the objective structures that exert influence on diversity managers' agency. Dimensions of the organisational subfield include diversity strategy and policy; organisational diversity management structure; and diversity management activities and programmes.

This chapter focuses on the exploration of the organisational level influences on the agency of diversity managers in Ford Motor Company. The analysis is informed by the documentary evidence and semi-structured interview data. The chapter starts with a brief description of the company in order to set out the context, and then explores the characteristics of the organisational *habitus* and the organisational subfield of diversity management in the company.

9.2 Description of the company

The Ford Motor Company was established in 1903 in Detroit in the US by Henry Ford and his eleven business associates (FMC n.d. a). When founded, the company was just

one of 88 car manufacturers in the US. The introduction of assembly line and Taylorist scientific management led to company's rapid expansion, distinguishing it from other car makers. The first car assembly line was introduced in the Michigan plant in 1913. The company website describes assembly line as a new technique which "allowed individual workers to stay in one place and perform the same task repeatedly on multiple vehicles that passed by them" (FMC n.d. b). Thanks to the moving assembly line Ford's annual production figures boomed from 1708 cars in 1903 to half a million cars in 1915, to one million in 1919 and to over two million in 1923. Within the course of those years, Henry Ford acquired whole ownership of the company and by 1919 Ford Motor Company became a huge family business (FMC n.d. c).

In the coming years, Henry Ford, who would be hailed as a hero and symbol of miraculous success by company representatives and managers, continues to be the most dominant figure in the official history and culture of Ford. His 'creativity', 'imagination', 'courage', 'understanding' and 'fascination' of mechanics and machinery are celebrated in company documents and publications (FMC n.d. c). Ford's heritage did not only dramatically transform the work organisation and industrial relations of the 20th century, but also had far-reaching impact on social, cultural and economic structures of the developed countries.

In 1911, Ford Motor Company established its first plant outside of North America, in England. In the post-second World War years the company's vast global expansion continued with the establishment of European and North American (consolidating U.S., Canadian, and Mexican operations) branches in 1967 and 1971 respectively. Currently, the company produces eight automotive brands in its assembly; stamping; engine; and casting, forging and aluminium plants all over the world. Ford employs 327,000 employees in 94 plants across six continents. In Europe alone, Ford has 35 sites in nine separate countries including the UK, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Belgium, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Netherlands. In the UK, the company owns seven assembly plants, a stamping plant, two engine plants, and a casting, forging and aluminium plant and employs 18,500 workers (FMC n.d. d). All over the world, as observed by Beynon (1973: 52), Ford employees "on the line had to cope with a jittery management, a quality campaign and speed-up... Speed-up".

9.3 The organisational *habitus* of diversity management at Ford

Regarding its culture, Ford offers a curious case for the study of diversity management, since its founding principles are in a deep conflict with the so-called pillars of diversity management. Fordism, the mode of production that is coined after the company's name, rests uneasily with the concepts of diversity management due to its reliance upon Taylorist scientific management which refers to a highly planned and standardised organisation of labour process (Foster 1988). One of the arguments put forward by the advocates of diversity management is that in order to be competitive, organisations of the post industrial era need to overcome organisational rigidities by developing higher levels of adaptiveness and responsiveness to change, by improving flexibility and fostering team work (Boxall and Purcell 2003; Procter and Mueller 2000; Schneider and Northcraft 1999; Schoenberger 1997). Then, it is claimed that workforce diversity if utilised and managed effectively, is the key to the requirements of 21st century organisations which need to attain high levels of productivity, efficiency, innovative capacity, adaptability and flexibility in order to meet diverse consumer demands (Ashkanasy et al. 2002; Blazevic and Lievens 2004; Carroll and Hannan 2000; Chevrier 2003). In their work on the competencies in the UK business, Kandola and Pearn (1992: 66) point to the shift from 'parochial outlook' and 'procedure-bound' approach to 'company commitment' and 'innovative and open-minded' thinking which are considered as the positive outcomes of flexible forms of work organisation. Others argue that diversity culture is more likely to be achieved in flexible organisations than bureaucratic ones (Golembiewski 1995; Thomas and Ely 2002). Still, other research shows that diversity provides a competitive advantage when performance of novel and complex work tasks which require high levels of creative thinking, innovation and problem solving skills, are at stake (e.g. Cordero et al. 1997; Dwyer et al. 2003. For a more detailed discussion of this literature see Chapter Two).

What is generally ignored in that literature is the fact that the new saga of flexible organisation does not sit comfortably with assembly line production which leaves little room for flexibility due to the very nature of logistics and organisation of work on the assembly line. Moreover, in the literature, the positive association between diversity and creativity is implicitly made with professional employees in mind rather than blue collar workers. The dominant type of production at Ford is mass production and 90 percent of its employees are blue collar workers who spend their working hours at the assembly line subject to rigid standardisation and control. The narrations of the workers at Ford's

Trafford Park plant in Manchester in 1920s demonstrate the extent of strict control at shop floor:

You could not speak, you could not turn around, you could not even go to the toilet. It was ridiculous. Every minute was accounted for... You were getting three times the wages anywhere else so they wanted the work out of you.

A time and motion man would stand over you with a stop watch and notebook and never speak, never smile. I would go into start on the half past two shift and never speak to anyone until I finished at 11.00 at night.

The work is exceedingly monotonous and speeded up to the highest degree. One must not speak to the chap working next to you, or you were liable to discharge or suspension. A man in a bowler hat parades the works on the lookout for anyone talking.
(quoted in McIntosh 2006: 174)

After over 40 years, the conditions in the shop floor was not much changed when Beynon conducted his influential research in the late 1960s in the Halewood assembly plant. The company workers frequently mentioned the inhuman character of working in the assembly line and how they were being treated as ‘machines’ or ‘numbers’:

They say that their timings are based upon what an ‘average man’ can do at an ‘average time of the day’. That’s a load of nonsense that. At the beginning of the shift it’s alright but later on it gets harder. And what if a man feels a bit under the weather? (Beynon 1973: 135).

Taylorist scientific management is based on the detailed calculations of timing, speed and use of space to attain the most efficient and productive arrangements on the assembly line (Rossler and Beruvides 1994; Wood 1993). Accordingly every minute of work and each body movement of the workers are calculated and planned to achieve greatest time efficiency. Many of the company workers felt strong contempt for this system which considered them as ‘robots’ in flesh:

They decide on their measured day how fast we will work. They seem to forget that we’re not machines y’know. The standards they work to are excessive anyway. They expect you to work the 480 minutes of the eight hours you’re on the clock. They have agreed to have a built-in allowance of six minutes for going to the toilet, blowing your nose and that. It takes you six minutes to get your trousers down (Beynon 1973: 135).

In the years Beynon conducted his research, blue collar employees of Ford were despising their working conditions and company’s inhuman attitude towards them so much that many claimed that if they were to buy a car, it would not be one of

company's brands. One of the many comments revealing how alienated they felt themselves from their work and the company is as follows:

I don't want promotion at all. I've not got that approach to the job. I'm like a lot of people here. They're all working here, but they're just really hanging around, waiting for something to turn up... It's different for them in the office. They're part of Ford. We're not, we're just working here, we're numbers (Beynon 1973: 121).

Although these quotations from Ford employees date back to the late 1960s, they still offer insights about the possibilities of diversity management, which is celebrated in the company documents as an approach for fostering creativity and innovation by harnessing differences between employees. As Beynon and Nichols (2006) and Sayer (1989) note false dualisms such as Fordism and Post-Fordism, or mass production and flexible specialisation distract researchers' attention away from labour processes. After nearly a century of its introduction, the assembly line still works on the general principles of standardisation and control of production processes (Beynon and Nichols 2006; Boje and Winsor 1993; Wood 1993).

At the unforgiving pace of the assembly line, it is hardly possible for blue collar workers to take initiative and be creative. Furthermore, as very clearly stated in the last quotation, assembly line workers did not think that they were part of Ford as much as the white collar employees were. Hence, if a connection between diversity and enhanced feelings of organisational belonging to be made as claimed by mainstream diversity management scholars (Cox 1991, 1993; Fernandez 1991), the white collar and blue collar divide needs to be acknowledged throughout the diversity management process. For blue collar workers their difference from the rest of the employees in terms of the nature of their work and working conditions form an important dimension of their diversity that impacts upon their attachment to their company. Interestingly enough, in a stark contrast with the celebration of a wide range of differences between the employees, diversity management literature keeps silent about social class differences in the workplace (e.g. Cox and Blake 1991; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Kandola and Fullerton 1998; Thomas 1990). Not surprisingly, such a silence is also present in Ford's diversity policies and documents as will be further explained later in the chapter.

Ford is not an exception in terms of organisation of work and working conditions of manual workers compared to other motor manufacturing companies. Hence, studying the possibilities of diversity management in a manufacturing company also brings about

a critical engagement with the mainstream diversity management literature and sheds light on the blind spots of the diversity management discourse. Reading the diversity literature with a critical eye reveals that business case arguments that are presented as the main justification for managing diversity implicitly exclude some categories of employees. The rhetoric of business case for diversity management is implicitly based on the idea of professional employees as the ‘norm’, since it assumes that employees who benefit from diversity management policies will add value to their organisations through increased flexibility, problem solving capacity, creativity and innovation, all of which are more relevant to work processes of professional employees. However, business case arguments may fail to present any justification to employers for workforce diversity of non-professional employees or manual workers in the car manufacturing environment since their job may not require adding value to the organisation by being ‘creative’ or ‘innovative’ in which case diversity will cease to be an ‘asset’. So, it seems, diversity rhetoric overlooks work conditions of manual workers without admitting this serious flaw in the arguments for bottom line benefits of diversity. Then the question is whether the adoption of a diversity management approach by Ford at the expense of an equal opportunities perspective will improve working conditions and opportunities for the few, while ignoring the needs and work conditions of the majority of its employees, who are blue-collar workers.

Due to the nature of organisation of the work process, Ford offers a very compelling example for diversity management research. More uniquely still in Ford’s case is how the technical control of work process was combined with the social control of the workforce in the early years of the company. The framework in which that social control was exercised is well known as the ‘five-dollar day’ which was a profit sharing scheme introduced in 1914 and abolished during the economic recession of 1920 and 1921 (FMC n.d. f). Although it was practised for a short period, the five-dollar day had a tremendous effect on Ford’s culture and formed a historical landmark for the company’s way of relating to its workers.

Bourdieu (1990a: 56) notes that temporal aspects of the *habitus* should be carefully studied since without the historical dimension it would be impossible to understand the nature of *habitus*; “The *habitus* -embodied history, internalised as a second nature and so forgotten as history- is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product”. Consequently, by integrating historical and informal aspects of organisational culture, analysis of organisational *habitus* potentially uncovers unwritten and unspoken

components of organisational memory, and offers an account of underlying mechanisms which generate organisational life.

The historical legacy of organisational *habitus* is what makes diversity management a challenging and long-term process. Hence, when investigating the organisational level dynamics that impact upon diversity managers' agency, it is crucial to situate them within the organisational history. In that sense the five-dollar day gives important clues about historical foundations of culture at Ford. Furthermore, the company is still proud of its historical five-dollar day framework and advertises it as the proof of company's commitment to diversity and inclusiveness. In the company website it reads:

Henry Ford launched our diversity journey when he offered a \$5-a-day wage in 1914. Thousands of immigrants and African-Americans flocked to our company, lured by the prospect of pay that was more than double the prevailing industry standard. This revolutionary event in American business created a new middle class and established Ford as one of the first American companies to truly reflect the growing diversity of the US... By as early as 1916, our employees represented 62 nationalities and every major world religion (FMC 2005: 5).

However, having an ethnically diverse internal workforce "as early as 1916" does not prove that Ford had an inclusive diversity approach at the time. Indeed, the company was not different from any other manufacturing organisation in the US in early 20th century when international migration has constituted one of the major sources of the workforce in the country. The goal of the five-dollar day scheme was to reduce the high levels of absenteeism and labour turnover created by mass production (Dassbach 1991). As Henry Ford himself admitted in 1913 the company had to hire 963 workers annually in order to add 100 assembly-line workers to its workforce (Foster 1988). Furthermore, as Braverman (1974) maintained, the five-dollar day was a remedy to the intensified unionisation between the shop floor workers. From a different angle, Perrons (2004: 131) noted that the scheme also contributed to sustaining the macro-economic system by keeping the demand levels up through raising the consumption levels of workers.

The five-dollar day was not a straightforward wage increase. This was done through a very detailed job evaluation scheme which aimed to discipline the company workers to fit in the Ford's image of docile 'ideal worker'. In case a worker was qualified for the scheme, his or her wage would be nearly doubled to five dollars a day, which was a very high level of wages in the 1910s (Wilson 1995). The groups who were eligible to apply to the programme were married men of all ages, single men with dependants or

over twenty two (Meyer 1981). The programme was strongly biased against women workers. With the assumption that they would get married and leave the job, women were not initially included in the programme. Later, due to the criticisms, only women who were heads of households were declared eligible. Furthermore, Ford banned the wives of its profit sharers to have paid employment stating that “if a man wants to remain profit sharer, his wife should stay at home and assume the obligations she undertook when married” (quoted in Meyer 1981: 141).

Being eligible did not guarantee the five-dollar day for the workers, but they had to prove that they were ‘worthy’ and ‘deserving’ workers by meeting the very specific conditions and requirements for qualifying for the programme. The five-dollar day scheme was based on the presumption that poor attitudes and bad habits of workers in their private lives will affect their efficiency and performance at work negatively and vice versa. Accordingly the company defined a set of criteria of ‘good manhood’ which includes ‘positive virtues’ such as thrift, sobriety, steadiness, industriousness, prudence, cleanliness, and having good habits and good home conditions. On the other hand, use of alcohol and tobacco, and gambling automatically disqualified the workers for the programme (Foster 1988).

Workers’ eligibility for the five-dollar day would be investigated by the Ford Sociological Department, which was established in 1914 for managing the programme. The sociological investigators who were American born white collar or supervisory employees recruited from within the company, scrutinised three aspects of company’s workers’ lives: their social and biographical information, i.e. nationality, religion; economic and financial condition, i.e. bank savings, property ownership; and workers’ morality, habits and lifestyle i.e. “how he amuses himself, the district he selects to live in” (Meyer 1981: 116, 130). Through the five-dollar day, Ford extended its strict managerial control and discipline from the shop floor into the private lives of its workers (Dassbach 1991). The programme aimed to assimilate the working class to the white, American, heterosexual, middle class culture, which was based upon home, family and protestant values of thrift.

In addition to its gender and class bias, the five-dollar day scheme demonstrated a strong racial and ethnic bias. Although Ford (2005) claims that the company was welcoming towards the immigrants and African-Americans from the early years on, particularly within the framework of five-dollar day, these groups had to pay a price for

being approved by the company to be qualified for the scheme. In the company website, it is claimed: “This legacy of diversity (five-dollar day) has distinguished Ford Motor Company for more than a century. Unique skills, talents, experiences and ways of thinking and looking at the world have been crucial to our success” (FMC n.d. f).

However reality was a far cry from that statement. Ford did not accept immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities as they were with all diversity and uniqueness of their culture, values, experiences and perspectives but tried to assimilate them. The words of Henry Ford display the company’s approach towards non-American workers at the time: “These men of many nations must be taught American ways, the English language and the right way to live” (cited in Meyer 1981: 151). Considering the historical circumstances where assimilation politics and melting pot philosophy were dominant in the US it may seem unfair to criticise Ford for its assimilatory approach. However, the main problem here is not the company’s assimilatory politics at the first half of the 20th century, but its contemporary efforts to reconstruct that legacy as an example of good practice and to represent it as the historical root of company’s current diversity approach (e.g. FMC 2005, n.d. ef).

An excellent example of assimilation politics which worked its way through the five-dollar day programme is the case of a young Turkish worker, Mustafa, which was reported by Meyer (1981). The case provides an excellent picture of the mentality behind the five-dollar day scheme and the ethnocentric mind set of Ford’s sociological investigators. After being investigated, Mustafa was found eligible by the investigator as he demonstrated a potential to lead an American way of living despite “his race, who mostly wander in the mountains and make money quickly robbing others”:

He used to wash his hands and feet five times a day as a part of their religion before praying. In America, he only prayed three times a day. This was modified from five times a day washing on account of time being too valuable... Today he has put aside his national red fez and praying, no baggy trousers anymore. He dresses like an American gentleman (quoted in Meyer 1981: 155).

As explained in other chapters, the amount and composition of the total volume of capital owned by the employees in an organisation depend on norms and values prevailing in the organisational *habitus* as well as the objective structures and formal rules of the organisation. This means that an individual’s employment experience will be strongly affected by his or her conformity to the dominant social and cultural norms

in the organisation. As the exploration of the five-dollar day scheme makes clear, at Ford these norms were predominantly based on white, male, middle class American values of the 1910s. The working class or ethnic minority employees were forced to adopt these values if they were to increase their social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital within the confines of their organisation. Hence, Ford Motor Company offered opportunities to thousands of immigrant, African-American and working class employees only if they willingly accepted to be assimilated. Clearly, this is not a very wise diversity statement for the history of the company as diversity scholars frequently argue that in order to successfully manage diversity, organisations should move from assimilation to multiculturalism (Allard 2002; Cox 1991, 1993).

Unfortunately, the company documents and website display an uncritical attachment to this historical legacy. Dobbs (1996: 364) argues that the diversity management process should start with “identifying the elements of the culture that facilitate and hinder diversity”. Clearly, heroes and myths are important elements of organisational culture. Ironically, Ford presents its founder, Henry Ford, whose opinions were strongly biased against women and ethnic minorities as the company’s first diversity champion, while the five-dollar day scheme which was based on assimilation is presented as Ford’s first diversity programme:

Although intended as a fair wage to attract and retain reliable labour, thus increase production, the five-dollar workday turned out to be perhaps the first Ford Motor Company initiative to develop diversity in workplace (FMC n.d. e).

Ford Motor Company’s tale of diversity is also based on silences about the negative events of discrimination. For instance, none of the publicly available company documents regarding diversity mention any racial discrimination incidences despite the fact that a serious commitment to diversity at Ford of Britain has started only after a series of racial discrimination lawsuits as will be explained later. Keeping silent about the recent discrimination cases in the company, as well as about the company’s assimilation policies in the first half of the 20th century, the history of diversity at Ford is reconstructed to create a collective amnesia.

The silence concerning the company’s discriminatory practices also impacts upon the company’s diversity management perspective. Ford claims that its diversity policy is based on “inclusion of every person and every perspective” which means “an opportunity for everyone in the organisation, not just minorities” and on understanding

of diversity as “all the differences that make us unique individuals”. Ford jointly with the UAW defines diversity as “the mosaic of people who bring a variety of backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values and beliefs as assets to our organisation” (FMC 2004: 21). Similarly, the Chairman of the Ford of Europe comments: “We welcome that unique blend of experience, skills and outlook that individuals bring to Ford, and we value the distinct contribution that is the result (Race for Opportunity 2001: 12). Thus, Ford’s definition of diversity includes a wide range of differences regarding culture, religion, education, experience, opinions, beliefs, language, nationality as well as race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, and sexual orientation. This perspective is in conformity with the mainstream diversity management theory which argues that such a wide range definition of diversity as opposed to one based solely on gender and ethnicity is preferable as it overcomes the risk of backlash and stereotyping (Thomas 1990).

Considering the evidence of institutionally racist practices and a discriminatory organisational climate at Ford as demonstrated by the recent lawsuits which are summarised later in the chapter, reducing the workforce diversity to individually based difference may potentially undermine anti-discriminatory measures. Equating difference with individual preferences and choices which reveal themselves in the uniqueness of each individual entails the risk of blindness towards deeply rooted patterns of discrimination and inequality. For that reason at least in the case of Ford, it seems important to explicitly acknowledge the most crucial and urgent problem areas working against equality and diversity, and to prioritise some categories of difference over the others within the scope of diversity management policy and strategy. Ironically, although it has been revealed by the recent discrimination lawsuits faced by Ford of Britain that the company has discrimination problems, which are specific to traditional categories of diversity such as race and ethnicity, Ford’s diversity policy is based on individual differences.

An individually-based definition of diversity, such as the one preferred by Ford (e.g. FoE n.d.; Ford Motor Company 2004, n.d. ef; Ford-Werke AG 2002), as the backbone of the diversity management strategy would hardly promote targeted intervention and a sustainable diversity management programme unless the aim is to pay lip service to the idea rather than initiating an organisational change. As Elmes and Connelley (1997: 164) state, “neglecting to recognise and deal with these more subtle and difficult aspect of diversity management dooms structuralist initiatives to failure”.

Both company documents and interviews conducted with the diversity managers of the company suggest that at Ford, diversity management process is associated with cultural change. However, there is a huge lack of clarity about what lies behind that change rhetoric, what is actually meant by change, which aspects of organisational culture are targeted for change and in what ways. All interview respondents have pointed out that Ford has a very established organisational culture which is primarily oriented around white-male values and that the majority of company employees are white, male and middle-aged. Research shows that white males react more negatively to diverse workgroups, whereas females or minorities are more favourable of them (Cordero et al. 1997; DiTomaso et al. 1996; Knouse and Dansby 2000; Tsui et al. 1992; Wharton and Baron 1987). Therefore, at Ford some groups of employees may be more receptive and supportive of the diversity management process, while others may display resistance and opposition. However, if the fundamental impact of group based differences on organisational culture is blurred through an individualistic definition of diversity as in the case of Ford, the scope and the nature of the so-called change, which is targeted by diversity management practices, become even more ambiguous.

9.4 The organisational subfield of diversity management at Ford

In this section I analyse the organisational subfield of diversity management by investigating objective systems of structures governing the diversity efforts in Ford Motor Company. After providing an overview of the general diversity management approach of Ford, I will explore the diversity structure of the company, and the company's diversity management activities and programmes in separate sections.

To start with, the global diversity policy statement of Ford Motor Company is “to build a diverse and inclusive culture that drives business results”. In the company documents, one of the core values of the company is claimed to be “an inspired, diverse team” and to “respect and value everyone's contribution”. It is stated that diversity is essential for the company's mission, which is “to become the world's leading consumer company for automotive products and services”. This is justified as follows: “We need many unique skills, talents and ways of thinking and looking at the world to help us succeed. This is why our family - the family of Ford - values diversity” (FMC 2005: 3). All these extracts from the company website and diversity documents make it clear that Ford's global diversity approach is based on business case arguments.

In the diversity management literature it is argued that the positive impact of diversity management on the business outcomes is one of the most important motivations for the integration of diversity principles into the mission and vision of organisations, and for attracting necessary resources for the diversity management programmes (Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; McDougall 1996). The company documentation of Ford demonstrates that the need for managing diversity at both global and European levels is predominantly justified on basis of the argument that diversity contributes to the bottom line.

The 2005 Diversity Brochure of Ford goes on to explain how the company values the diversity of its customers by capitalising on women, minority ethnic and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender markets; diversity of its dealers and suppliers; diversity of its cross-functional teams that aims to build and sell “best-selling cars and trucks” (Ford 2005: 14). In the company documents and the website, it is frequently emphasised that “diversity is a competitive advantage in a global economy”. The points made in the company documentation regarding the benefits of diversity are (i) increased customer satisfaction, enhanced customer relationships and being appealing to the women and minority customers whose purchasing power as car buyers is rising; (ii) increased organisational innovation, creativity and production (e.g. FoB 2002, 2003a, 2004; FoE 2003a, n.d.; Ford Motor Company 2004, n.d. ef). Similarly, David W. Thursfield, the Chairman of Ford of Europe, says:

To be successful in today’s marketplace we need to sell cars to as many people as possible. That means we must understand the needs of all communities in which we operate. We are a global, diverse family with a proud heritage... We want to be the best in class, to create the world’s leading Consumer Company for automotive products and services. Our employees, customers, dealers, suppliers and community partners all play their part. (Race for Opportunity 2001: 12).

Thus, the explanation of the association between diversity and competitiveness in the company documents is the blue print of the business case arguments in the diversity management literature. During the interviews, company’s diversity managers made similar points and emphasised the importance of using ‘business rationale’ for diversity management as a strategy for convincing different organisational members. However, when I asked them how they measure and monitor the impact of diversity on factors such as customer satisfaction, increased market share, organisational innovation, creativity and production, they said that measuring the association between these factors

and diversity is not easy and that they do not monitor diversity's impact on these factors.

Ironically, as explained in length in Chapter Two, there is another strand of academic research on workforce diversity that claims that low morale, ambiguity, conflict and tension, confusion and communication problems associated with diversity may undermine the organisational attachment and reduce the effectiveness and cohesion of workforce (Nemetz and Christensen 1996; O'Reilly et al. 1989; Robbins 2001; Tsui et al. 1992; Thomas and Ely 2002; Wharton and Baron 1987). In the face of these conflicting findings, the question comes to mind is how sustainable and long-lasting the company's diversity management efforts could be if they solely rely on business case motivations. The bottom line arguments may offer an effective strategy for introducing and gaining commitment for the diversity management process in the present situation at Ford. However, it is unclear, how in the long run diversity management programmes and policies would be affected in case diversity proves to be not-so-profitable for the company or if bottom-line considerations conflict with diversity and equality goals.

Interestingly in the case of Ford of Britain, it was not the business benefits of diversity that triggered the adoption of a comprehensive diversity management policy, but the recent discrimination lawsuits and the bad publicity which was associated with these lawsuits. Oblivious to that fact, the objectives, on which diversity strategy of Ford of Britain (2004) rests, read as follows:

- Being an employer of choice in the war of talent by recruiting, retaining and developing the best people from the widest pool of talent available;
- Being a brand of choice by serving a diverse customer base;
- Promoting community involvement and corporate image by linking diversity into the corporate citizenship and grant giving programme across Britain.

Hence, although the new diversity programme of Ford of Britain has been initiated in the aftermath of a discrimination lawsuit, the style and tone of the company documents still continue to imply that the main motivation for diversity management programme is not legal compliance or ethical considerations, but the 'fact' that "it makes business sense". In fact, business case arguments are used to de-emphasise the reality that both design and implementation of the current diversity programme has been triggered by three employment tribunal cases, which Ford of Britain had to face in the last decade.

9.4.1 Diversity structure at Ford

The global diversity strategy and policy of Ford Motor Company are designed and coordinated by the Diversity and Work Life Office that is situated in the headquarters of the company in Dearborn, US. The office has been established under the Human Resource Department in 1984. As stated in the literature, establishing a clear management structure for managing diversity has a crucial impact on the effectiveness of the diversity or equality policies (Lawrence 2000). At Ford, thanks to the traditionally system driven nature of all work organisation, there is a very clear structure for diversity management. At the top of the hierarchy is the Global Executive Council on Diversity which is comprised of top executives and officers from all functional areas, and chaired by the CEO of the company (FMC n.d. f). The role of the Global Diversity Council is to set the tone and strategies for diversity efforts throughout the company. The five areas for action that are identified by the council to establish the framework of diversity policies and programmes are:

1. Leadership within the corporation
2. Valuing a diverse workforce
3. Building a respectful and inclusive work environment
4. Valuing work life integration
5. Developing external partnerships

Under the Global Diversity Council are the National and Functional Diversity Councils in all areas of the company's operations such as Customer Services, Purchasing, Vehicle Operations, and Product Development. Finally, the company has Local Diversity Councils located in its plants which primarily deal with diversity training and organise educational and cultural-awareness events and local corporate citizenship efforts.

Integration of diversity goals into different functional areas of the organisation, and senior management support and ownership are emphasised in the literature as being crucial for the clout of both diversity office and diversity policy (Brimm and Arora 2001; Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Joplin and Daus 1997; Muir 1996). Ford documents claims that through global, functional and local diversity councils diversity objectives are integrated into all areas of business and reinforced by the visible top management commitment (FMC no date, f). However, this structure also proves that the company adopts a top-down approach when dealing with equality and diversity,

and situates employees at the receiving end of the diversity policies that are initiated, designed and approved by the senior management.

Bradley et al. (2007) find that in addition to such top-down approaches, collectivism through the medium of trade unions and employee networks play an important role in changing organisational structures and culture within the scope of diversity and equality efforts. In the case of Ford Motor Company, the most crucial part of the employee involvement in the diversity management process was through Employee Resource Groups (ERGs) which were defined as “company-sanctioned organisations formed by employees with common interests, backgrounds, or lifestyles” (FMC n.d. f). At the time of the research, Ford had ten such groups formed by female employees (from Finance, Human Resources, Information Technologies and Manufacturing functional backgrounds), gay, lesbian and bisexual employees, ethnic minority employees (from African-American, Asian Indian, Chinese, Hispanic and Middle Eastern ethnic backgrounds), parents, disabled employees and faith groups.

However, there is no mechanism to provide the ERGs with formal power or authority to influence the company’s diversity strategy and policy. They are rather perceived as helpers or supporters of Ford’s diversity programmes. The company documents indicate that activities of ERGs involve helping the company in recruiting and retaining diverse employees and in getting involved in community events and projects; and supporting diversity education in the company (FoB 2004; FoE 2001a, 2002b, 2003b, 2004c; FMC n.d. f). Most important of all, ERGs are seen by the company as important resources, which provide insights to diverse markets and support the marketing of company’s brands among diverse segments of the population (FoB 2004; FoE 2001b, 2004b, 2004c; FMC n.d. f). Accordingly, Ford’s diversity publications are full of narrations of success stories about how ERGs helped the company to achieve a greater market share among ethnic minority, female, and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender customers. Both interviews and company documentations emphasise that ERGs are not identity or pressure groups in the traditional sense but they are company sanctioned organisations with “clear aims in terms of their business impact in making Ford an Employer and Brand of Choice for diverse communities”. This statement clearly attempts to hide the potentially political principle that brings these employees together in the ERGs, that is, their identities in terms of being members of disadvantaged demographic groups. What is striking in the business case rhetoric for diversity management is the focus on

employers' interest. So, it seems that within the diversity management framework employees' interests are issues of consideration as long as they contribute to business outcomes. And this focus on profit is very well illustrated in Ford's perception of the ERGs as mediums to exploit the diversity of its employees to sell more cars to minority customers.

In addition to senior management and employees, line management is another group that exerts an important influence on diversity managers' agency and diversity management process. For that reason, it is important to explore the mechanisms in place in an organisation to provide diversity managers with power and authority to control and influence line managers regarding the implementation of diversity management policies. Interestingly, there are important differences between the American and British branches of the company regarding the structure and organisation of diversity management, hence the levels of power and authority of diversity managers on the line managers.

These differences are largely due to the drivers of diversity management programmes in the US and the UK. In the US, the introduction of the global diversity programme was a result of the proactive stance taken by the company's CEO on the basis of the business case for workforce diversity. Resultantly, the global diversity efforts displays a loosely connected and voluntary characteristic and diversity objectives are required to be part of only senior managers' scorecards, not of line managers who are key actors for the implementation. On the other hand in the UK, company's diversity efforts were to a large extent driven by compliance concerns.

Having suffered from series of race discrimination allegations in the 1990s, Ford of Britain was warned by the CRE which considered conducting a formal investigation into possible race discrimination practices in 2000. The first of these incidences involved a poster picturing a row of happily smiling assembly line workers, which had been taken for and used in an advertising campaign in 1991 to illustrate company's ethnic diversity. The same poster was used in a Ford sales campaign in Poland in 1996, but with a revision of the image. The faces of four African-Caribbean and Asian workers had been whitened out in the new poster with the assumption that Polish people would identify themselves better with the white faces. Consequently, Ford paid compensation to four workers, whose pictures were taken for the poster (Independent 2 December 1996).

The same year, Ford of Britain was taken to industrial tribunal for its discriminatory recruitment practices. In its Dagenham plant, the company internally advertised a number of vacancies for drivers, which is a popular job due to the relatively high pay compared to the other manual jobs available in the plant. 40 applications out of 85 were from Asian and Black workers. At the end, although seniority was one of the two criteria for selection and Asian and Black workers were scored higher regarding seniority than the others, none of them were offered a job. Upon this outcome, the TGWU then took the case to the industrial tribunal on behalf of the seven workers. In the tribunal hearings, it was reported that a truck fleet assessor was heard saying at an equal opportunities meeting that it was not their fault “if Pakis can't drive”, and another one agreeing “we are too concerned with Pakis and blacks in this company. It's all a load of bollocks - there is nothing wrong with calling a Paki a Paki” (Independent, 2 December 1996). The tribunal ruled in favour of the Asian and Black workers, who were paid compensation for racial discrimination (Guardian, 5 December 96).

In the final example, an Asian worker in the company's Dagenham plant went to tribunal with a complaint of racist abuse that had lasted four years. In 1999, the Industrial Tribunal declared that the Ford of Britain is liable for the abuse and about 1300 workers in the plant went on an unofficial strike protesting against the systematic racist discrimination in the company (Hyland 1999). In the aftermath of this event, a worker from the plant told a journalist: “There's a hell of a lot of racist attitudes and actions within Dagenham. It's like a tinder box and takes little to light the fuse” (Guardian, 6 October 1999).

Following these three serious incidences, Ford of Britain signed an agreement with the Unions (TGWU, AEEU and GMB) on equality and diversity in 1999 (FoB 2000). In 2000, it launched its Diversity and Equality Assessment Review (DEAR), which was based on the CRE's racial equality standard, “Racial Equality Means Business”. Subsequently, Ford of Britain has introduced a comprehensive diversity policy, which seeks to initiate a process of organisational change. Unlike the company's diversity management practice in the US, in Britain diversity objectives are linked to team, individual and line management objectives, and appraisal, pay and performance systems. Ford of Britain has established diversity as a key objective in the balanced scorecards for all functional areas and line management across the organisation. Implementation of clear actions is linked to line management objectives as diversity

objectives for line management. Line managers are required to submit regular reports at all levels on their diversity objectives to the National Diversity Council (FoB 2004). In effect, in contrast to the US case, as a result of employee resistance, there is a very structured and systematic diversity and equality audit process in Britain where diversity objectives and responsibility are cascaded down across all levels of the organisation.

The difference in the diversity management structure between two country branches of the same company also reflects itself in the status, position and background of the diversity managers in each case. Diversity managers in the US are reported to be part-time, which means that they are doing the diversity work as a part of their main job, whereas in Britain they hold a full-time office. Furthermore, different routes were followed for the recruitment of diversity managers in the UK and the US. All of the diversity managers in the US have been internally recruited, whereas in Britain three of them were externally recruited and had a long career history in the field of diversity and equality. Particularly two of these appointments are quite curious cases considering that they were made in the aftermath of the three discrimination incidences summarised above. In 1999, the company first appointed a European Diversity Manager who was at the same time one of the commissioners in the EOC. Then a diversity manager for Ford of Britain was recruited. He was a CRE commissioner and a policy development officer in the TUC responsible for the development of policy on race equality and employment. At a time when the company was in the process of signing a partnership agreement with the trade unions and was considered by the CRE for a formal investigation, these two appointments appear to be rather tactical than coincidental. Moreover, both of the company's new diversity managers had an extensive and long work experience in the public and private sector organisations as diversity managers or equality officers. Clearly there is a stark contrast between American and British branches of the company in terms of their recruitment strategies for diversity managers as well as the mechanisms that are available to the diversity managers to exert influence on different organisational actors, such as line managers. These differences in the diversity management practice between two countries reveal that despite the dominance of business case rhetoric in the company documents, the legal sanctions continue to be more motivating than possible positive business outcomes of diversity for the establishment of sound diversity management programmes.

9.4.2 Diversity management activities and programmes

The diversity activities and programmes of the Ford Motor Company can be summarised under six categories: diversity training, work-life balance programme, anti-harassment policy, HRM operations, community involvement and diversity monitoring. One of the interesting findings, which emerged from the review of the company's diversity activities, is that despite the emphasis on individually-based differences in the policies, the actual diversity activities, which are designed to implement these policies, are most of the time based on group-based differences. Furthermore, Ford of Europe (2002a, 2003a) diversity strategy documents overwhelmingly focus on legislative and demographic changes in Europe. In order to demonstrate the pressing need for diversity management, the documents provide demographic statistics of customer and employee profiles in Europe in terms of traditional categories of gender, age, ethnicity and disability. Similarly, when I asked him who are in target groups of the company's diversity programmes, a respondent from the European Diversity Team replied:

It's everybody. I think it's an important issue that if you're going to get an embracement of this issue, yes it's everybody. But at the same time you need to acknowledge that there are certain people that need different types of support. But you can't assume that all people in that group need that type of support.

Still, most of the actual programmes are targeted to specific groups of employees or focus on specific demographic categories, although policy regarding each programme states that it is "open to everyone" or "for everyone in the organisation".

9.4.2.1 Training

The diversity manager who is responsible for the diversity training in the Global Diversity Office states that they see training first and foremost as "a communication vehicle or a way of showing your priorities". Hence, the Global Diversity Office has designed several training programmes for different groups of employees. Among these, the four-hour 'Diversity Awareness' training is mandatory for all salaried employees. Parallel to this is the 'United in Diversity' training programme designed in partnership with the US trade union, UAW for the hourly employees.

Unlike the British case, in the US, the company's diversity office handles diversity only for the salaried employees. There is a separate diversity and equality office which works closely with the UAW and deals with diversity management for the unionised

employees of the company. My interview with the diversity manager for the hourly employees revealed that the main diversity management activity for the unionised employees focuses on training whereas different types of diversity activities and programmes are in place for the salaried employees. This focus of diversity management programmes on the salaried employees evokes questions about whether the managing diversity perspective is compatible with the conditions and demands of all employees or fits better to those of professional employees and office workers.

Nevertheless, it was clear that in the US branch of Ford, division of labour regarding diversity management is based on salaried employees and hourly workers divide. Although the global diversity manager of the company replied that “that’s how we do the things here” when asked about the reason of this separation, it is not hard to guess that what lies behind it is the different employee management methods, which the company uses for its salaried employees who are not unionised and its hourly workers who are union members. However, the ‘United in Diversity’ training is very similar to the ‘Diversity Awareness’ training for the salaried employees in terms of its coverage, i.e. definition of diversity; business case; prejudices, biases and stereotypes; organisational environment; meaning of inclusion; personal responsibility and behaviour awareness (FMC 2002).

On the other hand, several other diversity training courses are offered for specific groups of salaried employees. These include ‘Men and Women as Colleagues’, which deals with gender differences and is mandatory for some groups such as purchasing; ‘Discovering Common Ground’, which focuses on ethnic groups and race and is mandatory for HR personnel; and ‘Managing Inclusion’ which is about the definition of diversity, privilege and practical techniques to include people, and which is designed for managers, people in local diversity councils and diversity managers. In addition to these diversity training programmes, the company has affirmative action, equal employment opportunity and anti-harassment training programmes, which are open to all employees.

The first diversity awareness training in the company dates back to 1995. It was designed by the Global Diversity Office and initiated in the US. Later, it was sent over to the European branches of the company. However, the strategy of importing training programmes, which have been developed according to the US framework, did not work out since the European counterparts found these programmes “too American”, in other

words, ethnocentric. Accordingly, Ford of Europe developed its own diversity training courses. The European Diversity Office of Ford is based in Britain and all training programmes are initiated first at Ford of Britain. A diversity manager in the European Diversity Team stated that the training programmes were designed with a focus on inclusion unlike the traditional equal opportunities training programmes which are primarily based on gender, ethnicity and race. He argued that the majority of people react negatively to diversity training based on legislation and perceive such training as unrelated to them.

And people have been attending diversity trainings since the 70s. But unfortunately what you tend to get from people is that diversity has nothing to do with me, it's about ethnic minorities. People would come and say 'because I've been a naughty boy, I've been sent to diversity' or 'I'm not a racist what am I doing here. This is a total waste of time because you're not gonna change me. Nothing to do with me. I'm just being forced to sit here'. It's not uncommon to get those reactions. And then you do get people who will say I want to do good things for people. So it comes very socially oriented or responsible whatever you want to call it, or caring for somebody else. So both sides see it from, you know, it's nothing to do with them. So if you do a piece of research and look at how many courses start from a legal perspective, from a conflict perspective. Now after eight hours of that there's nothing in it for me because all I see is that everybody has got a piece of legislation to cover them, everybody is protected, chances of me getting the job is going to be less, because they're going to be given more chances. That's wrong, that's wrong, race, race, race, race, disability, disability, disability.

Hence he argues, his training approach is an inclusive one and aims to encourage people to relate the concepts in the training to their experiences.

From my training perspective, I felt very strongly that we need a totally different approach. I think where people were getting stuck is, they could not see how it is connected with them personally. To be able to understand what diversity is you need to understand your own diversity... So what you've now got is these people discussing from the position of where they are in the company, their age, their life cycle. But you don't push them too hard, you just warm them to start thinking. Because once you put them on that road they can't stop. So they actually engage and start discovering. And then you tell them what the law is. But you don't start with the law, you finish with the law.

Accordingly, he has designed an extensive training programme to raise the awareness of the employees and managers at all levels, in the issues of diversity. This is themed in line with the competencies relevant to the different groups of employees' roles and responsibilities in the organisation. This framework includes four levels: 'acquiring the basic knowledge' for the employees who have just started and who do not manage anybody; 'applying the knowledge' for the supervisors or managers who manage just

one person; ‘guiding the people who apply the knowledge’ for the team leaders and line managers; and finally ‘creating the knowledge’ for investigators and HR professionals. The one-day ‘Diversity Awareness’ workshop and the ‘Dignity at Work’ training are compulsory for everybody in Ford of Britain. In addition to these two courses, team leaders and line managers undertake a more in-depth two-day workshop on diversity. Lastly, there is a two day programme which merges harassment and bullying with diversity for the people who investigate the complaints, and a three-day programme on recruitment, retention and diversity for the HR professionals. Ford of Britain aims to train all employees and managers of the company by 2008. The compulsory nature of diversity and equality training in Ford of Britain in contrast to the voluntary characteristic of the training programmes in the US, once again demonstrates the impact of national context on organisational diversity management practices.

9.4.2.2 Work life integration

Diversity managers from the European Diversity Team stated that the practice and policies regarding work-life balance is more developed and sophisticated in the US, so they follow their example in Europe by introducing similar programmes. Ford’s work life integration programme in the US, as explained by a member of the Global Diversity Office, includes three categories: childcare and parental leaves, and alternative work practices. Only the traditional work life programmes regarding childcare and parental leaves are available for the hourly workers of the company. In partnership with the UAW, the company introduced Family Service and Learning Centres to offer support to working families. Forty such centres throughout the US offer services including child care, family and adult education programmes and health services. On the other hand, alternative work programmes are designed for salaried employees. In one of the company documents it is admitted that work-life integration is a challenge for Ford, particularly regarding manufacturing since “Plant schedules are more rigid. Night, weekend and holiday shifts are often the rule”. Similarly, a respondent from the Global Diversity Team argued:

Work-life is not something easy to do in a manufacturing environment as it is in a high-tech environment. When you’re working in manufacturing environment, you have people who are tied to getting production on the line. Flexible working is not so easy in manufacturing. It’s not so easy to telecommute, those kinds of things.

Hence, the alternative work programmes primarily aim “to attract and retain top professional talent”. These programmes cover transitional work arrangements (such as part-time work), job sharing, Alternative Work Schedule (flextime) and telecommuting. When asked about the beneficiaries of these programmes, one of the diversity managers located in the US said:

None of our programmes are specifically for one gender or another. We have more women than men working part-time, telecommuting is fifty fifty. In terms of leave people get their eight weeks as a physical or medical leave and they can take up to a year. Men can take leave for paternity. But then the higher percentages of men are taking educational leave. Women take maternity leave. So I would say that it's programme specific.

Similarly, a senior diversity manager in Ford of Europe stated:

And we try to make all our policies inclusive. So the whole issue of inclusion is important. Because we have an employee profile where the majority of our employees are men. So everything we've done we've tried to relate them as well. If you look at the work-life issues, it is about work and life, it is about caring, it is about carers; it is about your whole life outside the work. So a man who wants to be a football referee outside, or play in an orchestra or you know the other things, the issues are just as important to him as somebody who is a mother, who wants to take time off, or somebody who has an elderly relative to look after. It depends on the need, but it is inclusive of everyone.

Hence, the company strongly emphasises the inclusive nature of the work life balance policies and that they are not targeted to any specific demographic group but are for everyone in the company with the exception of manufacturing employees who are tied to the assembly line.

9.4.2.3 Anti-harassment policy

According to the company documentation and interview participants, the senior management of Ford displays a serious commitment in communicating the company's anti-harassment policy to the employees. In one of his weekly notes to the employees the CEO of the company states his concern that all company personnel may not be conducting themselves with the highest standards of professional behaviour and ethics, and stresses that harassment will not be tolerated, instructing employees to report any such incident immediately. Similarly, in 1997, one of the company's senior managers sent all hourly and salaried employees a letter about the company's commitment to zero tolerance for harassment stating that "the use of ethnic slurs, racial epithets or sexually demeaning or other provocative language clearly violates the policy" (cited in FoB 2000:9). This commitment is hardly surprising since the company had serious

problems regarding racial harassment and had to pay large sums of money to its harassed employees as a result of industrial tribunal decisions. However, the rhetoric regarding the justification of the anti-harassment policy continues to be business focused. The letter mentioned above reads: "All of us have a role to play in creating and sustaining a work environment which is inclusive and which allows all people to fully contribute to the business success of Ford" (ibid:9).

Hence, harassment is defined in this policy in terms of its effect on work performance and working environment. It means, as the Ford's global anti-harassment policy document states, "conduct of a harassing nature, whether in the workplace or off-site, which has the effect of interfering with someone's work performance, or which creates an intimidating, hostile and offensive working environment". Then, it is said that the company has zero tolerance for "sexual harassment; racial or national origin harassment; harassment based on sex, race, colour, religion, age, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or veteran status; retaliation against anyone for making a good-faith complaint of such harassment or for cooperating in company investigations of such complaints" (FMC n.d. g).

However, this policy did not seem to work very effectively, at least in the case of Ford of Britain. When Ford of Britain had been shaken in 1999 by the news of a tribunal decision regarding the four years long racial harassment of an Asian worker in Dagenham plant, Ford had already had a 'Zero Tolerance: Anti-Harassment Policy' which did not seem to prevent the harassment. So, Ford of Britain developed the 'Dignity at Work Policy' in partnership with the trade unions. The 'Employee Guide' explaining the policy still emphasises the business case for anti-harassment:

Dignity at work means that as a Company we are committed to providing a healthy working environment where we all feel valued and respected so that we can make full use of our abilities, skills and experiences and contribute fully to the success of the company (FoB 2003b: 10).

The policy includes not only harassment but bullying and victimisation. Although the definitions of the concepts emphasise the individual-based understanding of diversity, differences based on demographic categories are particularly stated. Following is the definition of harassment and bullying as given in the policy:

Harassment is any form of behaviour whether intentional or unintentional, that may be regarded as offensive, abusive, demeaning, humiliating or threatening. It may be related to any of the differences that define each of us

as unique individuals. These differences include race, religious beliefs, creed, colour, nationality, ethnic or national origins, sexual orientation, marital/parental status, sex, age, disability. Harassment is determined by the impact of the behaviour on the recipient and not by the intention of the perpetrator(s). The distinguishing characteristic of harassment is that it is unwanted by the recipient(s). Harassment may take the form of a single act or series of acts over a period of time and it includes abuse of power... Bullying is any form of unwarranted, offensive, humiliating, undermining behaviour towards an individual or groups of individuals. It can also include persistently negative or malicious attacks on a person or on their job performance (FoB 2003b: 13.14).

Three points are important with regard to this policy which seems to be an improvement over the global anti-harassment policy. First, it explicitly puts forward that in the case of a complaint, the recipient's perception is what it counts rather than the perpetrator's intention. Second, abuse of power is included in the harassment clause. Finally, under bullying, more subtle types of discriminatory treatment such as "unfair work assignments", "continual unjustifiable criticism", "non-cooperation, isolation or exclusion by other employees" are covered.

Employees can file a complaint formally or informally by talking to their line manager, a union representative a member of the HR team, a member of a local diversity council or the occupational health department. In addition, an employment harassment helpline has been introduced all over the company to provide employees with confidential advice. With the 'Dignity at Work' policy, handling of complaints is speeded up as well. Parallel to the introduction of the new policy, a compulsory training course is also developed to explain the company's 'Dignity at Work' policy to all employees (FoB 2003b).

9.4.2.4 Human resource management operations

Ford's diversity activities related to HRM operations largely focus on recruitment of BME employees. Although, the diversity manager who is responsible for recruitment in the Global Diversity Team claims that their diversity recruitment efforts are not "just about ethnicity", the most of the activities and programmes, that are mentioned in the interviews and the company documents, are specifically targeted to BME recruitment.

She further explained that they do quarterly reviews of recruitment and then "if that appears that there is any group that we are not recruiting appropriate numbers of, then we will talk about that function about concentrating in that area for the following quarter". However, she also admitted that they do not have specific targets and goals for diversity recruitment. Absence of targets may well mean that the level of recruitment

from diverse groups depends on personal attitudes and interpretations of the diversity managers and functional managers who are in charge of recruiting.

In order to reach the prospective recruits the company uses a variety of methods such as BME recruitment fairs, partnership with BME professional organisations, mentoring scheme and summer internship for undergraduate students, partnership with universities with a high population of BME students and advertising vacancies in local newspapers with a high BME population. Ford's diversity based recruitment efforts are supported to a large extent by the ERGs whose members volunteer for activities such as mentoring and attending to career fairs.

In the case of Ford of Britain, it is claimed that diversity and equality objectives are an integral part of recruitment and selection procedures. All line management and human resources Departments who participate in the recruitment and selection process are trained and made aware of the company's diversity policies, practices and procedures. At Ford of Britain, national, regional and local demographic information is used to compare the company workforce profile with the local population. Accordingly, it is stated that all recruitment and selection processes, assessment centres, training in fair selection techniques for all recruiters and selectors, testing, and the manner in which interviews are conducted are systematically reviewed (FoB 2000, 2004, n.d). However, since the company statistics were not made available for this research, it is hard to reach any conclusion about the impact of these diversity activities in relation to recruitment on the actual workforce figures of the company.

9.4.2.5 Community involvement

Another area of Ford's diversity management activities is community involvement. External partnership, and as a part of that, community outreach is one of the five strategic areas of focus of the Ford's Global Diversity Policy. The company encourages its salaried employees to get involved in community activities by giving them the option of two full days per year to devote to volunteer for not-for-profit organisations. Consequently, company employees are reported to participate in activities such as community projects and charity walks and raise money for charities (FMC 2004a). A senior diversity manager in the European Diversity Team said:

We try to influence a lot of public opinion, we sponsor, give money and support a lot of community organisations. And we mention diversity as part of our corporate citizenship and living where our employees are involved in mentoring and supportive programmes in schools and so on.

In addition, the company documents advertise the company's partnership with its ERGs, which are said to be very active in the community for community outreach. However, Ford's community involvement activities are not as altruistic as it sounds. An example of an ERG community involvement activity, which was given by a senior diversity manager in the US was shockingly clear in terms of the profit motive behind company's community involvement efforts:

Our Asian Indian Group for example brought in a number of Asian Indian doctors and we had a programme for them and then we let them drive cars around the track, because we wanted to sell them cars.

Accordingly, the company corporately sponsors several diversity activities and events, and financially supports various BME and women groups and organisations as a part of its marketing strategy both globally and in Britain (FoB 2004; FMC 2005). For instance, a Ford of Britain document states: "We have proactively sought opportunities to be involved in events which target ethnic minority communities and customers. It raises the profile of Ford as a company and a brand amongst those customers" (FoB 2004).

Other groups that are included in the company's community outreach framework are suppliers and dealers (FoB 2004). The company claims that in the US, it purchased goods and services from minority and women owned businesses more than any other automobile company in the country. Regarding the dealers, company documents suggest that Ford has a greater percentage of minority dealers than any other major automaker in the US (FMC 2005). In addition the company offers a Minority Dealer Training Programme in the US. A diversity strategy manager for the company's Minority Dealer operations says: "We see the demographics and the purchasing power, a recent study found that more than one out of every 10 new car buyers is a minority. Ford Motor Company wants the dealerships to reflect the customers". In order to sell more cars to diverse groups of customers, the company does not only support minority dealers, but also tries to raise awareness of its dealers regarding diversity through seminars, guides and web-based training (FoB 2002, 2003a). Hence, Ford's 2005 Diversity Brochure explains that the company aims to help its dealers "better understand and serve African-Americans, Asian-Americans, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender customers, Hispanics, women and young adults" (FMC 2005: 19).

9.4.2.6 Diversity monitoring and impact assessment

At the global level, diversity is monitored in three areas. First, representation of women and people of colour at all salary levels is measured quarterly. Second, diversity objectives are monitored as a part of senior managers' scorecards. Senior executive

bonuses are tied to diversity management, along with traditional performance measures. However, global diversity policy does not require cascading diversity goals down to the performance reviews of middle managers. Lastly, Ford has an annual employee attitude survey, PULSE, distributed to all employees globally. This survey includes 55 questions, six of which are related to diversity. These diversity questions, which are presented in a Likert scale, are as follows:

1. Top management at my location believes that a diverse workforce will contribute to the Company's business success.
2. Diversity among employees including diversity based on ethnic background, gender, nationality, age, background, personality, thinking style, is valued in my work group.
3. My supervisor demonstrates through actions that diversity is a priority.
4. Having a diverse workforce contributes to the company's business success.
5. Top management at my location demonstrates through actions that diversity is a priority.
6. The top management at my location does not tolerate harassment or inappropriate behaviour.

Interestingly, in the 1996 PULSE survey results the lowest score (42 percent) was for the statement, "Diversity issues are a priority for top management". 2003 survey results showed that scores regarding the statements on various aspects of workplace diversity along with the scores of statements on training and development, and overall job satisfaction have declined compared to previous years.

At Ford of Britain, there is a more systematic monitoring and impact assessment process. In addition to the PULSE survey, the company conducts women only, men only, minorities only and mixed focus groups in order to elicit employee perceptions and opinions on diversity. Additionally, in 2004, Ford of Britain launched an organisational culture survey on the issues of diversity, dignity at work, career progression, line management commitment and work life. It was reported that over 51 per cent of Ford of Britain employees completed the survey with 74 per cent of those supporting the diversity and equality efforts in the company (FoE 2004a). Besides these surveys and focus groups, data on recruitment, retention, rate of return to work after maternity leave, access and development opportunities, internal promotions, grievances, complaints of discrimination, harassment and bullying cases, sickness and absence rates, take up of internal training programmes are collected regularly with consideration of employee diversity (FoB 2004).

At Ford of Britain, the whole process of monitoring and impact assessment is systematically conducted through a baseline audit named DEAR, which is based on the

CRE's Racial Equality Standard. The launch of the DEAR in 2000 was the part of the agreement company reached with the CRE. In August 2000, the CRE suspended its formal investigation of Ford of Britain on the following terms. Ford of Britain would:

- conduct a diversity and equality assessment review at all plants in Britain by April 2001 and work with us to draw up action plans;
- introduce new fast track procedures for discrimination complaints;
- make arrangements for an independent assessment of cultural change at all levels;
- develop a clear framework for corporate leadership and accountability for the plan.

(CRE 2002: 25-26)

From its launch in October 2000 on, DEAR has established the ground for diversity policy development at Ford of Britain. Throughout the DEAR process, diversity is measured against six areas of business activity at five levels: policy and planning; selection; developing and retaining staff; communication and corporate image; corporate citizenship; and auditing for diversity and equality (FoB n.d.). The audit is conducted by trained auditors. These internal auditors were verified by an independent auditor. The company uses the DEAR process to deliver long-term sustainable change and share best practice in Britain (FoB 2004). Surinder Sharma, the Diversity Manager of Ford of Europe, explained to the IRS (2004) that the 100-years old company culture also brings in peculiar challenges in terms of achieving organisational change:

Ford is a traditional manufacturing industry with a 100-year history in Britain. Changing hearts and minds is a long-term undertaking, but we had a good start... I believe that Ford is the only private sector company in Britain tackling cultural change in such a thorough and systematic way. Conducting a baseline audit, developing diversity action plans in conjunction with union representatives and implementing a comprehensive Dignity at Work policy, represents a massive commitment for the company.

On the other hand, a senior diversity manager of Ford of Europe noted that company culture can be also utilised as an advantage since the systematic and process driven nature of DEAR fits very comfortably with the long-established organisational culture of the company:

I think that is driving change through because there is a systematic process. Ford is a very systematic process driven company. So that process drives change, clearly outlining what line management responsibility is, what we need to do from one step to the next and how we measure that change. And there is a robust independent auditing process annually monitoring the implementation of the action plans for each area.

Hence, within the framework of DEAR, the company's traditional command and control culture is being utilised as an advantage to design, implement and monitor diversity policies and programmes. At the time of the research, the European Diversity Team of Ford was planning to launch the DEAR process in other European branches of the company as well, starting with Belgium and Germany. However, there is no hint showing that the Global Diversity Office is willing to translate DEAR to the company's other branches outside Europe. Although not admitted by the diversity managers or in the company documents this unwillingness is largely due to the fact that the European legislation in the field of diversity and equality is more advanced than the legislation in the other parts of the world and this puts pressure on the companies in Europe to develop sophisticated and well-grounded diversity management policies.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, different dimensions of the organisational *habitus* and the organisational subfield of Ford Motor Company have been investigated in relation to diversity management. The chapter first elaborated the informal dynamics of diversity management at meso-organisational level thereby showing the importance of historical and cultural influences on organisational *habitus*. Then, the organisational subfield of diversity management, which refers to the formalised structures and practices, was outlined. The chapter discussed the impact of organisational history and culture on diversity management context, as well as the ways in which these are reconstructed rhetorically in order to present a picture of Ford Motor Company as an organisation which has always embraced diversity and multi-culturalism.

The analysis in this chapter also demonstrated that even in a single company, which has a global diversity management policy, structures and practices of managing diversity vary across national contexts. Furthermore, the macro level social and institutional structures at national level, such as legislation and institutions, which enforce legislation, are key determinants of these national variations, which, in turn, provide diversity managers in different countries with different configurations of resources and constraints. One of the important insights that can be drawn from the influence of macro-social dynamics on organisational practices of diversity management, is that diversity management practices and diversity managers' agency materialise in a multi-levelled context, and the scholarship in the field needs to acknowledge and account for

the multiple sources of influence on processes of diversity management at social, organisational and individual levels.

The analysis in this chapter was largely based on the analysis of Ford Motor Company's grey literature, and was limited to the company website and to the documentation that was made available by the company for the research. In addition to company documentation, semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with the diversity managers of the company in the UK and internationally, informed the analysis in this chapter. The findings of 12 in-depth interviews, which I have conducted with the diversity managers of Ford will be analysed further in the next chapter, where I explore the micro-individual level dynamics of diversity managers' agency.

Chapter Ten

Analysing Different Forms of Capital and Strategies: Case of a Global Automobile Manufacturing Company

10.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the micro-individual level of diversity managers' agency. The analysis here presents insight into research question three as posed in Chapter One. The chapter conceptualises the micro level dynamics of the agency of diversity managers with reference to two key properties that impact upon their actions and decisions: different forms of capital and strategies. First, diversity managers are bearers of different forms of capital. Second, they are agents who employ strategies in order to transform or reproduce the amount of capital they own. Such a conceptualisation of diversity managers' agency at the micro level is informed by the Bourdieuan framework, which acknowledges the active and strategic aspects of human agency:

Social agents are not 'particles' that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces. They are rather bearers of capitals, and depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity to orient themselves actively either toward the preservation of the distribution of capital or toward the subversion of this distribution (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 108-109).

Accordingly, the present chapter analyses the composition of different forms of capital owned and strategies employed by diversity managers in their organisational setting. The analysis in this chapter is informed by the literature review and the analytical and methodological framework presented earlier, and based on the interviews conducted with the 12 diversity managers of Ford in the UK, Europe and America.

10.2 Cultural capital

The sources of cultural capital include the traits which are traditionally included under the so-called human capital, i.e. formal education, training and work experience, as well as cultural and demographic background. The issue of the educational, functional background and training that diversity managers need in order to accomplish their job deserves a research of its own. Lawrence (2000) found that the role of diversity and equality officers requires knowledge of legislation, industrial relations and HRM

procedures as well as traits such as patience, persistence and resilience. However, she notes, these traits are developed through previous work experience rather than being hereditary individual qualities. Similarly the responses of my research participants from Ford demonstrated that their educational and functional background plays role in their jobs. Notwithstanding the mention of education as a source of expertise for the job of managing diversity, most of the respondents emphasised that a more significant role is played by their previous work experience and ‘on the job learning’. Interview findings highlighted that particularly work experience in their current organisation was a valuable source of cultural capital for the diversity managers at Fords as it provided them with the insiders’ knowledge. A respondent, who works in the Global Diversity Office of the company (middle manager, female) stated:

I got a lot of human resources, labour relations type of work before I moved into the diversity job. I am working for Ford now for 27 years. I think that having worked at Ford in a number of different assignments helped me to really get a good understanding of the company, and I think that that probably has helped more than my educational background, probably has helped the most.

Except three respondents who were recruited to their diversity role externally, all of the respondents had an extensive knowledge of the structures, procedures and culture of Ford due to their long work history in the company. Thus, work experience and on the job learning were pointed out as important sources of cultural capital by the respondents. However, interview findings identified that traits associated with human capital were not sufficient for understanding the respondents’ cultural capital in its totality. On the contrary, the respondents’ demographic and cultural background forms an important source of cultural capital.

The interview participants frequently emphasised the value based nature of their job. The theme of relating personal values and job requirements was reiterated several times during the interviews. The interviews revealed that the demographic backgrounds of the respondents and their direct and indirect experience of disadvantage had a decisive impact on their values. These in turn affected their commitment to equality and diversity. The respondents from minority or disadvantaged demographic backgrounds explicitly pointed out the connection between their demographic background and their decisions to pursue careers in the diversity field. A senior diversity manager in the Global Diversity Office said:

I mean I am an African American woman and I think that that’s one of the reasons why I gravitated towards this job because I felt that I can really work

to make a difference. You know it's not just my own passion, but even personal experience of that I have had. So I think that it plays a role in how I perceive things.

The demographic profile of respondents highlighted a connection between working in the diversity field and one's gender and ethnicity. Only one of the twelve respondents was a white male whereas seven were female and seven were from BME backgrounds. Interview findings reveal that affiliation with or experience regarding disadvantaged groups particularly based on ethnicity and gender forms an important aspect of cultural capital for at least two reasons. First, the diversity managers' direct and indirect experience related to different minority groups influences their *habitus*, i.e. individual habitus, which refers to the set of dispositions formed through past experience and socialisation. The *habitus* of diversity managers may present an advantage or disadvantage in the course of communicating with different groups. As 'relational-beings' (Mauthner and Doucet 2000: 125) diversity managers need to relate and utilise their own values and dispositions in order to strategically manage and transform the sensitive balance between the dominant the organisational *habitus* and *habitus* of different organisational actors. Lawrence's (2000) study on equal opportunities officers also displays the necessity of knowledge and understanding of the perspectives of the discriminated groups in the society for the equality work in the organisations.

Second, the demographic background of diversity managers plays a decisive role in their values, goals and perspective regarding diversity and equality as well as in their ability to relate with and understand the conditions of different groups in the organisation. The importance of demographic background and personal values of diversity managers regarding equality, justice and diversity is also cited by others. For instance, DiTomaso and Hooijberg (1996: 170) in their theoretical work on the demands of leadership and diversity note the necessary skills for the organisational leaders in the context of diversity:

It means not only understanding the reactions to categorisation, but acting to shape and transform those categories, to make or reengineer the relationships of people in various categories to resources, power and opportunity. It requires a substantively informed vision and a political commitment, not to a programme of the moment, but to a better organisation, and hence to a better society.

In a similar vein, Meyerson and Scully (1995: 596-7) point out that "some individuals choose to do 'diversity work' because of their commitment to social justice, their identification with a marginalised group, and their insights into the dynamics of disadvantage and privilege". For instance, Lawrence (2000) finds out in her research

that the concept of human rights underlies the perspectives of equal opportunities officers. Similarly, throughout the interviews, all of my respondents from Ford have referred to their personal commitment to diversity and belief in equality. Some have also referred to the contribution of their personal experiences of having a disadvantaged demographic background on their understanding of diversity and equality issues. Hence, diversity managers' demographic backgrounds as well as their educational background and experience, determine the amount of cultural capital that is at their disposal to mobilise during the design and implementation of diversity management policies.

10.3 Symbolic capital

The amount of symbolic capital owned by diversity managers has a major role in terms of effectiveness of their actions and decisions on the organisational *habitus* and on their influence and authority on different organisational members. The level of symbolic capital in the organisational subfield relates to the individuals' status and authority within the organisational hierarchy. In the case of diversity managers, this is reflected in their level of responsibility and role in decision making processes, where they sit in the organisational structure, who their superiors and subordinates are; and the prestige and status of the diversity office in relation to other functions of the organisation.

Acker (2000) points out to the dilemma faced by many equality and diversity officers, due to their position in the organisational hierarchy. She notes that despite the fact that diversity management is associated with an organisational change process, the diversity and equality officers most of the time lack the direct authority to control different functions in their organisations:

The staff positions were relatively powerless to achieve the changes that were sought. Many studies have shown that staff positions do not have the direct control of work organisation and practices that line positions routinely involve. Thus, staff could not themselves implement changes but would have to work through others to reach their goals (Acker 2000: 627).

For that reason the level of prestige and status attached to the diversity office within the organisation becomes a crucial influence on the agency of diversity managers by either hindering or encouraging the effectiveness of their actions. Parker (1999: 39) suggests:

EEO officers should also have enough formal and informal 'clout' within the corporation to ensure their message is not overwhelmed by inconsistent management discourse or corporate culture.

She argues that they may gain the necessary 'clout' in two ways, formally by holding a senior position and informally by having support of the senior management. Similarly,

in the research, all of the respondents emphasised the importance of support, commitment and ownership at the level of senior management and of an established diversity strategy that ensures the sustainability of the programmes and policies. One of the senior diversity managers in the European Diversity Team of Ford (male) comments on the importance of senior management support as follows:

Senior management involvement, role modelling and senior management buy-in, senior management leadership on this issue are crucial. Otherwise management and employees don't take it seriously. Our leadership is on the board, our leadership is willing to take decisions and our leadership is showing that it is serious about diversity has a major impact on the organisation.

The senior management support and ownership are important determinants of the status and authority of diversity managers in their organisations, so of the amount of symbolic capital at their disposal. However, as argued by all respondents, formal structures of diversity management are as important as the senior management commitment for diversity managers to gain the necessary status and authority to realise their roles. As discussed earlier in Chapter Eight, such formal structures include the status of the diversity office and integration of diversity management objectives across different functions and levels of the organisation. These structures establish the legitimacy of diversity managers' action in intervening and controlling the processes in other functions to meet the goals of diversity management policy. This brings out the importance of investigating the power and authority of diversity managers over line managers on whom they need to exert influence in order to implement the diversity management policies.

The comparison of diversity management structures of Ford in the UK and the US provides an interesting illustration of the link between organisational level commitment to diversity management and the positioning of the diversity office and the person of diversity managers within the organisational hierarchy. In the US, the diversity office is located in the human Resource Department and diversity managers work part-time on diversity. On the other hand, in the UK context, the diversity office has a separate status and diversity managers hold full-time diversity posts. As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, these differences between the diversity structures of the company in two national contexts largely stem from the differences in motivation behind diversity management in each country.

In the US, it was reported by the respondents, diversity management efforts were driven by the business case, whereas legislative concerns were the key drivers for the introduction of Ford of Britain's current diversity programme. Interestingly, compliance concerns led to a structured and systematic diversity and equality audit process in the UK whilst in the US diversity management programmes are less systematic and of voluntary nature. For instance, in Ford of Britain diversity objectives are part of both senior and middle managers' balanced scorecards while only senior managers are formally held accountable for their diversity achievements in the US. Clearly, these differences have important implications for diversity managers' agency as the diversity managers of Ford of Britain are provided with a greater amount of symbolic capital compared to their colleagues in the US.

Furthermore, this divergence between the UK and US branches of Ford in terms of diversity management structure and practice suggests that legal sanctions establish a stronger motivation than the business case for diversity management. In that sense, the symbolic capital of diversity managers cannot be understood through micro-level explorations, as it is organically related to the organisational and societal positioning of diversity management. In other words, the status and authority of diversity managers are shaped by the macro level influences such as legislative and institutional structures regarding the issues of discrimination and inequality in the field of employment as well as by the meso level dynamics including the position of diversity office and integration of diversity policies across the organisation.

10.4 Social capital

Diversity managers need to work formally and informally through several organisational agents and networks as a part of their role within the process of diversity management. Their success in doing this is strongly associated with the amount of social capital they own within the context of the *habitus* of their organisation and externally in terms of their membership to various networks, work and social groups. The sources of social capital can be external and internal.

External sources of social capital are related to the involvement in civil society and politics through any membership or link to formal or informal groups, networks or institutions outside the organisation. For diversity managers, the most important of these is their involvement in networks, institutions and groups in the diversity and equality area. Most of the respondents indicated that they are members of several diversity and

equality networks and groups outside of the company. Such outside affiliations act as a source of both solidarity and information for the diversity managers who took part in this study. During the interviews, the respondents have provided several examples of the cases where they turn to their external networks for support and recommendations about new diversity management initiatives and programmes in their organisation. Other studies also points out the importance of membership in external networks and groups. For instance, Braithwaite (1992, cited in Parker 1999) in her quantitative work on Australian affirmative action officers stresses the importance of networking with the others in the field for affirmative action officers in order to maintain their progressive attitudes, to retain their commitment and to get social validation of their views. Similarly, Meyerson and Scully (1995: 597) assert that “importance of maintaining strong ties with individuals, communities or groups outside of their organisation” is emphasised frequently by tempered radicals and “these outside affiliations act as sources of information, resources, emotional support, and perhaps most important, empathy”.

Involvement in external equality and diversity networks also entails the possibility of learning from the experiences of other diversity managers, being up to date with the developments in the field and accessing to different perspectives regarding the equality and diversity issues. Clearly, all of these contribute to the effectiveness of the diversity managers in their organisation through an increased ability to understand the key dynamics of diversity and equality, to foresee future challenges and opportunities, and to produce efficient strategies for managing diversity. Moreover, both the European diversity manager and the global diversity manager of Ford pointed out that being active members of local, national and international equality and diversity networks increase their professional credibility in the organisation particularly in the eyes of their senior managers and other diversity colleagues.

Internal sources of social capital are at least as important as the external ones for diversity managers. These include relationships with organisational members from different groups and ranks, and inclusion in different informal organisational networks. This area implicitly relates to the interpersonal skills, the most frequently referred category of competencies in the change agency literature, such as negotiation, facilitation, communication, networking. A senior diversity manager in the European Diversity Team (male) argued that interpersonal skills are critical in his job and stressed

the importance of establishing relationships with as many organisational members as possible from secretary or cleaner to the chairman

As DiTomaso and Hooijberg (1996) emphasise, the job of managing diversity requires intervention in sensitive spheres related to deeply seated values and norms of the individuals and may invoke negative as well as positive reactions by organisational members. The authors claim that leaders of diversity management “have responsibility to understand, confront, and help address the emotional responses that people may have to diversity- whether anger, bewilderment or fear” (DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996: 179). The amount of social capital owned by the diversity managers determines the boundaries of their capacity as negotiators or facilitators both between different groups, and between individuals and their emotions. Likewise, most of the respondents mentioned that their role is that of enablers and facilitators. They, then, stated that support of various organisational actors such as employees, trade unions, and line managers, is crucial for the implementation of diversity management policies.

Hence, diversity managers’ formal and informal networks within the organisation and their personal skills such as negotiation, persuasion, attracting voluntary involvement are crucial for them to realise their role. The amount of social capital owned by diversity managers has a decisive impact upon their capacity and ability to gain allies within the organisation and to ensure further involvement of different organisational actors within the diversity management process. Gaining allies can be through informal ways as well as formal ways within an organisation. A diversity manager in the European Diversity Team (senior manager, male) emphasised the informal dimension of his role as follows:

You have to find out who your champions are in your organisation not formally but informally, who makes things happen, who are the people who really have either formal or informal power. And a lot of this isn’t done in formal meetings, a lot of this is done in informal meetings as well.

The above words echoes the argument made by Meyerson (2001b: 100) in relation to the significance of gaining the support and involvement of various organisational actors for tempered radicals:

In navigating the course between their desire to undo the status quo and the organisational requirements to uphold it, tempered radicals benefit from the advice of insiders who know just how hard to push.

For diversity managers, knowledge of organisation and membership in formal and informal organisational networks function are valuable sources of social capital, which they can then transform to symbolic capital that will provide them with the legitimate basis of status and power. In summary, the interview findings demonstrated the importance of social capital, which is gained through both internal and external networks. The higher the amount of their social capital, the higher is diversity managers' professional credibility and authority within their organisations.

Furthermore, social capital provides diversity managers with the necessary channels of access to insider's perspectives in their organisation as well as with up to date overview of the wider diversity management field. Consequently, equipped with credibility, authority and information, diversity managers have more chances to gain support and involvement for the diversity management policies and programmes that they design and implement.

10.5 Strategies

This section discusses the strategies employed by diversity managers as emerged from the case study of Ford. As pointed out by Layder (1993) the concept of strategies brings in two essential insights into the research of human agency. First, it acknowledges the social agents' ability to transform their settings. Second, the notion not only registers the power relations in social interaction, but also acknowledges the contested nature of domination. Layder (1993: 160) argues that the notion of strategies involves two elements:

The first centres on the idea that all human-beings possess some power in the form of their ability to transform, to some extent, the circumstances in which they find themselves... The second element ... points to the fact that although it is usually one person or a group who dominates in a power relationship, the subordinate party always has some power (by way of manipulation of resources at their disposal).

Thus, understanding the strategies employed by diversity managers requires an acknowledgement of and attention to the contested and ambivalent aspects of diversity managers' identity, and their everyday actions and decision. The ambivalences and irregularities in diversity managers' actions and decisions, which may be discarded as inconsistent or illogical within the scope of rational choice theories, indeed have a strong explanatory power for the researchers, who wish to understand the agency of diversity managers, or agency of other organisational actors for that matter, true to its nature.

In the previous sections, I have focused on different forms of capital owned by diversity managers. However, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 101) argue, different forms of capital are only potential sources of power and influence, and they do not become functional except in relation to a field and *habitus*. Instead, different forms of capital become efficient ‘like the aces in a game of cards’ only if actors know the ‘rules of the game’ and register to these rules. For diversity managers, ‘playing the game’ involves strategic manipulation of different forms of capital at their disposal.

In order to reach their goals within the scope of diversity management policies and programmes, diversity managers have to play the ‘game’ according to the rules embedded in the organisational subfield and *habitus*. They learn that rules governing the organisational subfield and *habitus* by gaining an understanding of the organisation through their work experience in the organisation and by being part of formal and informal organisational networks and, thus, having access to insiders’ knowledge. However, this learning should not be conceived as a linear educational process in the organisational setting, which will then lead to straightforward action and decisions to affect organisational change. As Gunn and Gullickson (2003) argue managers’ willingness to act on their learning is constrained by their belief in how acceptable their approach would be in the context of the prevailing organisational setting and discourse. Hence, the process of learning the formal and informal rules prevalent in the organisation, on the one hand empowers diversity managers by establishing them as legitimate ‘players’ in the game, on the other hand, dictates to them the ‘acceptable’ limits of their intervention in the organisational subfield and *habitus* within the scope of their diversity management efforts.

Thus, organisational performance and strategising of diversity managers are linked to the dual character of that learning and acceptance of the formal and informal rules of the organisation which simultaneously enable and constrain their agency. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 129) put forward, the driving force behind the strategies is “the encounter of *habitus* with the peculiar conjuncture of the field”. Through the investigation of strategies employed by diversity managers, this section also offers insights into the dual character of the learning and acceptance process as it relates to the strategies utilised by the diversity managers.

Meyerson and Scully (1995: 587) suggest that “for the tempered radical alignment and change are flip sides of the same coin”. Accordingly, positioning of change agents in the organisational structure leads to three interrelated forms of ambivalence:

First, and most fundamentally, tempered radicals are “outsiders within”... while insider status provides access to opportunities for change, outsider status provides the detachment to recognise that there even is an issue or problem to work on... Second, tempered radicals can act as critics of the status quo and as critics of untempered radical change... Tempered radicals have chosen to work for change from within organisations... Because of their location, they may critique some forms of radical change for provoking fear, resistance and backlash... Third, in addition to being critics of status quo and critics of radical change, tempered radicals can be advocates for both. Their situation is therefore more complex than that of change agents who act strictly as critics of status quo. As advocates for the status quo, tempered radicals earn the rewards and resources that come with commitment and (tempered) complicity and these become their tools for change (Meyerson and Scully 1995: 589).

Tempered radicals need to be able to deal with the disadvantages of ambivalence and to utilise the advantages that are brought by their ambivalent position. Similar to Meyerson’s tempered radicals, the diversity managers, who were interviewed in this research, occupy an antithetical position in their organisation due to their job role as, in their own words, ‘change agents’. The diversity management process is associated with cultural change in Ford’s diversity policy documents. However, all respondents have pointed out that Ford has a very established organisational culture, which is primarily based on white-male values. Assuming the role of change agents within such a cultural framework, therefore, leads diversity managers of Ford to experience ambivalences.

The diversity managers of Ford Motor Company use several strategies to turn the ambivalences into advantages that will provide them with the resources, support, authority, power or influence required throughout the diversity management process. One of the strategies proposed in the literature for use of change agents is packaging the change message in insiders’ language (Dutton and Ashford 1993). A senior diversity manager of Ford in Europe (male) very clearly described the impact of the way in which the change message is packaged and delivered on its effectiveness:

You learn how to adapt your message and the style of your message. The essence is the same, but the delivery of the message is slightly different. You make it appropriate for that culture, for that organisation; but the end result is the same. So that you know it will hit whom better with different stakeholders in the company to get them to move on things. We also use different people in the company to deliver that message. Sometimes the

chairman is relevant, sometimes the HR director is relevant, sometimes the marketing director.

Then he continues to explain different messages that they use within the company to ‘sell’ diversity:

There are different drivers for different people. Legislation or case law would be drivers for some managers and some people. Secondly, it could be the social and moral case. Thirdly, it is around the business strategy. But really at the end of the day, unless diversity becomes a business issue, and you can relate it to people’s objectives, it doesn’t happen.

As has been clearly stated in these words, although legal and ethical cases are still used to get involvement and support for diversity management, the message is dominantly packaged with business case rhetoric and workforce diversity is treated as a ‘product’ to be ‘marketed’ and ‘sold’ to different stakeholders in the company. In the cases where respondents referred to legal or ethical reasons as drivers for diversity management efforts, they stressed the bottom line considerations regarding compliance with legislation and running an ethical business. Legal and ethical case arguments were interpreted and communicated in terms of the economic and social cost of discrimination lawsuits, the association between having ‘bad publicity’ and decrease in the number of cars they sell, and business benefits of positive public image associated with being an ‘employer working for equal opportunities and diversity’.

Several authors cited the importance of making the business case for the successful implementation and delivery of diversity management policies and programmes (Barkema et al. 2002; Gatley and Lessem 1995; Harrison et al. 2002). Literature suggests that this shift from the ethical case towards business case arguments is also reflected in the discourses of diversity and equality practitioners. For instance, respondents in Parker’s (1999) qualitative study emphasised the necessity of business case arguments to convince the management in order to develop a ‘good’ sexual harassment policy. Similarly, the respondents of this research frequently stressed the use of ‘business rationale’ for diversity management as a strategy for convincing different organisational members. Referring to the cases of gender equity projects, Acker (2000) argues that using business case arguments may be an efficient strategy to gain organisational support for change programmes. However, she argues, this strategy simultaneously entails the risk of disappearance of gender from view.

The same situation holds true for the case of diversity management as well. Bottom line arguments may offer an effective strategy for introducing and gaining commitment for diversity management policies and programmes. However, it carries the risk of

cancelling the message of equal opportunities and disappearance of the understanding of structural inequalities, both of which in turn, lead to elimination of possibilities for organisational change that is addressed within the scope of organisation's diversity management policies. Respondents in Lawrence's (2000: 385) study pointed out the paradoxical nature of relying on the profit motive to achieve equality goals by indicating that there are cases where bottom-line factors conflict with equality and diversity principles.

The paradox of business case arguments was pointed out by one of the respondents from the European Diversity Team. She argued that when economic targets and diversity targets about "how to deal with people" conflict, the latter vanishes from the agenda particularly at "economically difficult times". Hence, although the employment of strategies plays an important role in diversity managers' ability to actualise their role within their organisations, the success or efficiency of these strategies is bound up with the status of diversity management policies in the organisation which reflects the impact of social and organisational dynamics. Commenting on this dilemma, Meyerson and Scully (1995: 596-7) state:

Those who work in corporations learn to speak the language of the insiders: in this case, to talk about diversity in 'bottom line' terms... However, tempered radicals may be most effective if they speak to each constituency in both languages. They do not channel their language so that business people hear only bottom line rationalisations, nor so that community organisers hear only the social justice reasons for proposed changes.

Furthermore, the authors argue that "instead of stridently pressing their agendas, they start conversations. Rather than battling powerful foes, they seek powerful friends." (Meyerson 2001b: 100). My interviews with the diversity managers of Ford suggest that despite the overall emphasis on business case, the respondents integrate ethical and legal rationales for managing diversity in their business case arguments. However, they modify and construct the balance of ethical, legal and business cases in line with the characteristics of their audience at each situation. This balancing act also helps the respondents to avoid potential conflicts with the very organisational actors from whom the diversity managers seek support for. Similarly, Parker (1999: 34) finds that equal opportunities officers act as double dealers:

It does demonstrate the potential for some EEO officers in their character as double dealers in social control to become creative citizens weaving their own normative web out of the constraints of legal and corporate norms.

Within that framework, literature suggests that equal opportunities officers find conflict strategies ineffective as they are aware of the political nature of their job (Lawrence 2000; Parker 1999). Bradley et al. (2007) also draw attention to the political nature of the processes of diversity management and organisational change, and maintain that organisational equality champions need to develop political skills in order to overcome resistance from different organisational actors. Meyerson (2001b: 99) makes a similar point for the case of tempered radicals as follows:

Tempered radicals don't allow preconceived notions about 'the opposition' to get in their way. Indeed, they understand that those who represent the majority perspective are vitally important to gaining support for their cause.

Similarly, interviews revealed that diversity managers prefer to follow the strategy of negotiation rather than opposition and by doing that they aim to gain allies or supporters at different levels of the organisation. Very frequently, the importance of gaining the support of the majority which is white, male and middle-aged, is emphasised for achieving diversity goals. Yet, the research identified that getting the majority population involved in the diversity management process was one of the key challenges of the job of diversity managers at Ford. The use of discourse of inclusion emerged, in the interviews, as a widely used strategy to overcome that challenge. However, in the narrations of Ford's diversity managers, inclusion does not refer to the traditional progressive usage of the term to denote the inclusion of the previously excluded, disadvantaged social groups (Howarth, 1999; Pena-Casas et al. 2002). Instead the meaning of the term was twisted to imply the inclusion of the category of white-male which is argued to be excluded within the equal opportunities framework.

The rhetoric of inclusion goes hand in hand with an individualistic definition of diversity, sometimes at the expense of the recognition of the demographic groups that are historically disadvantaged. That sort of definition of diversity accommodates the danger of reducing all 'differences' to the same level of importance and emergency. A statement made by the respondent, who holds a part-time diversity management responsibility in the Global Diversity Office of Ford (middle manager, female) signals this danger:

We say that we want to build a diverse and inclusive culture, so we look at diversity, we look at the broad aspect. We say that diversity is all the things that really make us unique as individuals.

With the necessity of gaining the support of the majority groups to realise an organisational change and avoid backlash and resistance by these groups, diversity managers tend to avoid conflict strategies and to use strategies of persuasion. The

research participants believed that conflict strategies may breed negative reactions from white male employees. They argued that, therefore, it is necessary to make diversity management policies relevant to all organisational members while at the same time stressing the need for targeted intervention for the disadvantaged groups. Although, the respondents still displayed awareness of group-based inequalities, that message is blurred within the rhetoric of inclusion. When asked about how they situate the concept of equal opportunities within the scope of Ford's diversity management approach, the respondents stated that the term, which is used in the company is 'diversity'. The respondent who worked for European Diversity Team (senior manager, male) put forward:

The word here is diversity. I mean there have been times it was equal opportunities. It goes through an evolution. Equal opportunities in a traditional way is about ethnic minorities and gender. I think you have to take into account that people have different experiences, they may not identify with the experience you're talking about. So about the diversity-equal opportunities debate I would like to say it's equal opportunity through acknowledgement of individual strength.

The discourses of the diversity managers of Ford show that they try to establish a balance between the ideas of equality and diversity throughout their strategic moves along the organisational power dynamics. However, their strategies evolved around business case for diversity and inclusion may engender the disappearance of the debate of discrimination from the scene. Nevertheless, the use of strategies within the framework drawn by the organisational subfield and *habitus* to activate the potential power of different forms of capital presents the dynamic dimension of the diversity manager's agency.

Hardy et al. (2000) argue that it should be the diversity managers' strategy to learn, disseminate, implement and enact discourses of diversity. The interview evidence suggests that the two most pertinent examples of strategies utilised by the diversity managers are the use of the business case discourse and the discourse of inclusion. Equipped with these discourses, their legitimised ways of knowing, and unique anecdotes from the organisation, the diversity managers may set out to enact these discourses in their organisations, by producing policy statements, affecting managerial decision processes and enacting the professed diversity discourses in their daily practice of work. Therefore, diversity management is enacted through efforts of diversity managers not only in terms of implementation of policy across the organisation but also as individual enactments of daily performance that will generate 'small wins' (Meyerson and Fletcher 2003; Weick 1984).

10.6 The *praxis*: framing the micro-level and dynamics aspects of diversity managers' agency

As a concept which has its philosophical roots in 19th century European thought, *praxis* can be defined as reflexive action and actionable knowledge. Freire (1968) in his influential text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, argues that *praxis*, which has an intrinsic transformatory potential, refers to the combination of action and reflection, and points out the danger of sacrifice of action, which will lead to verbalism, and sacrifice of reflection, which will result in activism without a transformatory vision. In the context of the agency of diversity managers, *praxis* is important as it is informed by an understanding which recognises individual capacity to learn and exert influence through a virtuous cycle of reflection and action. In other words, *praxis* is a cycle of reflection and action which requires diversity managers to strategically deploy the forms of capital that they possess in order to exert influence in their organisations. The boundaries of the *praxis* of diversity managers are partly drawn by the amount of capital at their disposal and their strategic deployment of these.

In theory, the dynamic and active aspects of diversity managers' agency, as of any other group of human agents, can materialise in different variations, to use Freire's (1968) notions, in the whole spectrum from verbalism, which is reflection devoid of action, to activism, which is action without reflection. However, the insights from this PhD research suggest that it is hard to locate diversity managers' agency as pure forms of verbalism or activism, due to the existence of organisational *doxa*. The notion of *doxa* refers to "the preconstructed representation of this world" and "the cognitive schemata that underlie the construction of this image" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 247). Accordingly, *doxic* experience is "uncontested acceptance of the daily lifeworld" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 73). Exclusion and inequality, which work against principles of successful diversity management, are reproduced in organisations through everyday acts and utterances of *doxic* experience. Within that framework, diversity managers' *praxis* would be influenced by their power to reflect on and transform the *doxic* experience as it pertains to diversity in the organisation, revealing the uncontested illusions that legitimise hegemony and 'inequality regimes' (Acker 2006).

Contrary to common wisdom, Bourdieu (1984) argues, the *doxic* experience is sustained by both members of majority and minority groups, and the dominant and dominated individuals. He says that dominated agents "tend to attribute to themselves what the distribution attributes to them, refusing what they are refused ('That's not for the likes

of us'), adjusting their expectations to their chances, defining themselves as the established order defines them" (Bourdieu 1984:471). Therefore, altering the *doxic* experience of inequality regimes requires diversity managers to engage with a wide cross section of the organisational members drawn from both minority and majority groups.

In organisations, the hegemonic majority culture corresponds to the domain of orthodoxy (the right opinion) whereas deviances from that constitute the domain of heterodoxy. The extent to which diversity managers can challenge organisational orthodoxy and widen the heterodoxic space, which is welcoming of difference and inclusion, reveals their agentic power. The awareness raising process, which is cited frequently in learning based approaches (Argyris and Schön 1978; Contu and Willmott 2003; Dodgson 1993; Pedler et al. 1991; Senge 1990) and which constitutes an important part of most diversity managers prescribed role (Cox 1991; Elmes and Connelley 1997; Fernandez 1991; Kirton and Greene 2000), seeks to transform the *doxic* experience, enriching the *doxic* space.

However, diversity managers themselves are also part of organisational *doxa* and their agency is also situated along the spectrum that ranges from orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Lorde (2003: 274) asserts that danger and fear "of contempt, of censure, or some judgment or recognition, of challenge, of annihilation", which are inherent in the process of transforming silence into speech and action inhibit one's acts of self revelation. In addition to symbolic aspects of censure, diversity managers' material dependence on organisation in terms of their resources will impose limits on diversity managers' agency. Due to the complexity of censure in *doxa*, *praxis* of diversity managers may vary from passive compliance to radical pursuit of change. Nevertheless, *praxis* is a cycle of reflection and action, in which diversity managers reflect on *doxa* in order to increase the total amount of capital at their disposal and to develop their strategies.

10.7 Conclusion

In Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, and Nine, I have explored the macro and meso levels of diversity managers' agency. Subsequently, this chapter has presented an analysis of the micro level dynamics of the diversity managers' agency based on the semi-structured interviews conducted with 12 diversity managers working for Ford Motor Company. To this end, first different forms of capital owned by the diversity managers have been

investigated as the potential power sources within the organisational context. Then, the use of strategies by the diversity managers as the act of activating that potential has been explored. Finally, a conceptual framing and discussion of diversity managers' agency at the micro level has been provided.

The chapter first set out the sources of different forms of capital for diversity managers. The analysis of interviews uncovered that human capital theories are insufficient in explaining the power, resources and constraints of diversity managers' agency in organisational settings. In fact, human capital traits, which are associated with skills, competencies, education, training and work experience, and seen as the result of individual achievement and choices, formed only one dimension of the capital portfolio of the diversity managers at Ford. On the other hand, social capital, which was accumulated through involvement in intra- and extra-organisational networks, and symbolic capital which was gained through the availability of organisational resources and support were crucial to the job of diversity managers. Furthermore, social and symbolic capital established the key sources of organisational power and legitimacy for diversity managers, who worked for Ford.

Contrary to the assumptions of rational choice theories, the nature and types of strategies employed by diversity managers at Ford were not the outcome of a rational and linear decision-making process, but involved a process of negotiation and alignment with organisational and social context. The findings provided in this chapter suggest that the micro level of diversity managers' agency extends beyond individual level factors, and is framed by social and organisational influences. In the conclusion chapter of the thesis, all three levels of micro-individual, meso-organisational and macro-social dynamics will be brought together in a single framework to in order to present a comprehensive account of the agency of diversity managers.

Chapter Eleven

Discussion and Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

This thesis framed the agency of diversity managers as a complex, multi-levelled and relational phenomenon and the field study, which informs the thesis, revealed the usefulness of this approach in assessing the agency of diversity managers in a way that remains true to its nature. This concluding chapter of the thesis is presented in three sections. In the first section, I revisit the original research questions on the basis of the key themes, which emerged from the field study. After providing critical insights into three research questions of the thesis, I offer an overall conceptual account of diversity managers' agency by highlighting the resources and constraints that frame their agency. At the end of this first section, I provide suggestions for future research in the empirically neglected issue of diversity managers' agency. Following this, the next section identifies the original contribution and implications of this work in terms of theory development, research methodology and diversity management policy and practice. The chapter closes with a last section in which I provide a reflexive account of the research design and methods and, then, in the light of these reflections and my learning process throughout the PhD research, I briefly discuss what, with hindsight, I would do differently.

11.2 Revisiting the research questions in the light of the research findings

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a critical realist account of the agency of diversity managers. This account is based on data gathered from fieldwork using qualitative and quantitative research methods. The field work generated 285 completed questionnaires from diversity and equality officers in the UK, 11 in-depth interviews with the diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations in the UK with 10.000 or more employees, and a case study of Ford Motor Company, which generated documentary evidence as well as 12 in-depth interviews with the diversity managers of the company in the UK, Europe and America. The agency of diversity managers was examined through a multilevel and relational framework in order to answer the central question of this thesis: what is the nature and boundaries of the diversity managers' agency?

The conceptual framework was inspired by Bourdieuan sociology, and by drawing on and interpreting his key concepts, adopted his theory of human agency to study diversity managers' agency. The key concepts that oriented the field study and helped construct the theoretical framework are field at the macro-social level; organisational subfield and *habitus* at the meso-organisational level; and different forms of capital and strategies at the micro-individual level of diversity managers' agency. These concepts were used to answer three research questions as briefly revisited in the following sections.

11.2.1 How is the agency of diversity managers situated in the macro level socio-economic context of the field of diversity management?

The macro level dynamics that impact on diversity managers' agency are explored in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. In these chapters, I investigated the field of diversity management in terms of its internal dynamics as well as its relation to other fields, which exert influence on it. The research findings from the semi-structured interviews with the diversity managers of large public and private sector organisations in the UK revealed that the diversity management field exists in co-dependence with three separate fields: the cultural field, the institutional field, and the business field. Situating the diversity management field in a network of fields, suggests that the field of diversity management is contextual in the sense that the diversity agenda is shaped by cultural and demographic concerns; legislative and institutional structures; and sectoral and business context.

Furthermore, the field of diversity management is also shaped by relational forces due to the presence and involvement of various stakeholders including employers and shareholders, trade unions and employees, equality and diversity bodies and networks. The implication of the co-dependence and embeddedness of the diversity management field within the wider web of fields for the agency of diversity managers is that actual configurations of macro-contextual factors such as geography, history, legislation, structures of politics, economy and culture offer resources and constraints for diversity managers, impacting on their acts, decisions, effectiveness, power and legitimacy in their organisational settings.

In addition to being constructed in a relational and contextual framework in the wider network of fields, the diversity management field is also governed by its own internal

dynamics that are reproduced through discourse, practice and institutionalised forms of professional identity. As explained in Chapter Seven, the discourse of diversity management predominantly relies on business case arguments, a top-down approach, which prioritises the senior management support, and an emphasis on individual level differences. Within that framework, one of the key justifications for the approach is its alleged advantage over an equal opportunities perspective, which is claimed to be less inclusive and less successful in promoting proactivity by employers due to its focus on legislation.

Interestingly, when the actual practice of diversity management was analysed, there was no evidence of a clear break from the equal opportunities framework. Indeed, research findings demonstrated that at the level of practice, the equal opportunities framework more or less continued to be followed in the organisations in the UK, in terms of types of diversity programmes and initiatives, the nearly exclusive focus on legally protected categories, as well as in terms of the presence of legal compliance as the key driver for the organisational diversity management efforts. Still, scholars of diversity management should not discard the diversity management approach as a simple name change.

Although diversity management approach has not broken with the equal opportunities framework at the level of practice, a shift was evident in terms of discourse. There is a need of critical scholarly attention to this shift in the discourse for two reasons. First, it is predominantly this discursive shift, through which the field of diversity management is constructed as a separate field. Second, the diversity management discourse which heavily relies on business benefits and employers' interest may lead to regression in terms of tackling structural inequalities and discrimination, if it is used as a tool of the neo-liberal ideology which seeks to individualise, de-collectivise and de-unionise workforces (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000).

In terms of institutionalised professional identity in the field of diversity management, the findings of this study demonstrated the limited nature of professional education or training opportunities specifically tailored to diversity management as well as lack of any professional criteria for entering into the field. This suggests that the professional boundaries in the field of diversity management are porous. Diversity managers, most of the time, acquire skills and competencies through professional networks, in-house training and on-the-job learning. It is important to note that absence of formal means of professionalisation increases reliance upon tacit learning networks. Diversity and

equality networks are also very important in reproduction and transmission of the diversity management discourse.

For diversity managers, knowledge of and ability to use the diversity management discourse is a key competency, which draws the demarcation lines for entry into the field particularly in the private sector. Moreover, discourses of diversity management to some extent provide diversity managers with the power of negotiation and strategies to secure organisational support. However, it is important to note that the diversity managers' ability to shape the content of their discourse is limited and their discourses are subject to control and deference to the power holders in their organisations. Moreover, the use of the diversity management discourse alone is not sufficient for diversity managers to gain clout for their role in design, delivery and implementation of diversity management policies and programmes.

Indeed, the status of diversity managers in the organisational hierarchy influences their ability to convince and engage different organisational actors through utilising diversity management discourses. The questionnaire survey findings demonstrated that diversity managers enjoy relatively low levels of power and prestige in organisational hierarchies. Furthermore, organisational support through other formal and informal ways such as senior and middle management ownership, or integration of diversity into different organisational functions, was not strong either. Diversity managers had low levels of pay, organisational status, and financial and economic resources as well as weak organisational support.

Although the academic and practitioner literatures alike, point to the necessity of organisational change in order to realise diversity management plans, the survey evidence uncovered that diversity managers indeed failed to enjoy organisational power and privileges to initiate a change process. However, it is worth noting that extra-organisational factors played a key role in shaping the boundaries of the diversity managers' agency. The most striking of these were the sectoral and trade union influences. The survey evidence highlighted that diversity managers, who worked in the public sector or in organisations with trade union support for diversity management, enjoyed higher levels of legitimacy and power and a greater amount of financial and human resources, compared to their colleagues, who are from private sector organisations or from organisations with low levels of trade union support.

11.2.2 How do the meso level dynamics of the organisational subfield and the organisational *habitus* frame diversity managers' agency?

Within the scope of this thesis, the case of Ford Motor Company was used to explain the meso level dynamics, which shape the agency of diversity managers. It was evident from the documentary analysis and interviews with the diversity managers of Ford in Europe and America that the organisational subfield of diversity management, which refers to diversity management structures, policies, activities and programmes, framed the power and effectiveness of diversity managers by bringing in a set of opportunities and constraints. What was interesting is the fact that although the company had a global diversity management policy and office, the scope and extent of diversity management programmes and initiatives varied across national settings. This implies the importance of uncovering the differences that are hidden under the banner of diversity management and the title of diversity manager in actual organisational settings.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the majority of the organisations, which participated in the questionnaire survey poorly achieved in terms of the sophistication of their diversity management approach. They did not even set diversity objectives or build diversity into their organisational goals and activities of different organisational functions. The key diversity management activities were associated with training and employee attitude surveys. Resultantly, diversity managers are positioned at the margins of the human resources department with poor access to organisational resources and with little power and influence on other organisational actors. A similar marginalisation of diversity management and diversity managers was evident in Ford Motor Company's US branch. On the other hand Ford of Britain had a proactive and transformative diversity approach.

What drove the diversity management approach in the UK branch of the company was the fact that the company had faced a series of racial discrimination lawsuits and was under the investigation of the CRE. Indeed, its poor record in terms of workplace equality had, in a way, forced the company to initiate a cultural change programme accompanied with a robust diversity and equality monitoring and evaluation system, which, in turn, provided diversity managers with access to organisational resources and positional authority over different organisational actors including the power holders at senior and line management levels. As Bradley et al. (2007) maintain external pressures including legislative sanctions, are important drivers for organisational change. The key role of equality legislation in driving change was evident in the case of Ford of Britain,

where commitment to organisational change was largely a result of company's previous failure to ensure legal compliance.

The case study analysis suggested that nature and boundaries of the agency of diversity managers was largely influenced by the diversity management perspective adopted by their organisations. In organisations in which diversity management is perceived as a mean to avoid enacting the equality legislation true to its progressive spirit, diversity managers are likely to be positioned as protection officers, whose responsibility is to ensure a minimum level of compliance. In some other organisations, diversity management may include a commitment to achieve organisational change not only rhetorically, but also through robust diversity management structures, particularly in the cases of failure to ensure legal compliance, where legislative sanctions become a source of a real threat rather than a potential one. In such organisations, diversity managers can legitimately assume the role of change agents, who proactively promote cultural change through design and implementation of diversity management policies. Consequently, they are more likely to hold senior management positions and to be equipped with economic and human resources as well as legitimacy to monitor different functions in their organisations.

At the meso level, subjective structures as they materialise in the organisational *habitus* are also very resourceful sites of exploration in order to understand the boundaries of diversity managers' agency. History making by telling and constructing stories is an important mechanism through which the organisational *habitus* is constructed and reproduced. There is a growing literature in critical management studies which analyses the process of organisational storytelling. Scholars explored the impact of narrations on organisational realities, the ways in which storytelling constructs collective meanings shared by organisational members, and how stories are used to relate independent and disconnected elements and events in organisational history to construct a consistent whole (Boyce 1995; Polkinghorne 1988; Weick 1995). Through the analysis of the case of Ford Motor Company, I have elaborated that the choice of stories in organisational settings is not haphazard. On the contrary, "the experience is filtered" by "hindsight" in the process of story making (Weick 1995: 127). Indeed, as demonstrated by Ford's famous five-dollars day scheme between 1914 and 1921, the stories are used as frames for recreating the organisational history and flashing out certain points of reference organisational culture whilst silencing others.

The organisational *habitus* of diversity management at Ford was woven around discourses of the business case, senior management support, and inclusion and welcoming of diversity. Through storytelling some components of past and present realities of the organisation are highlighted while some others are omitted in order to create a hegemonic narration of diversity management, which is consistent and positive. However, there was an untold story of diversity management of Ford Motor Company, which was about the assimilatory and white male culture of the organisation, challenges of managing diversity in the face of assembly line production, the incidents of racial discrimination and lawsuits, presence of legal sanctions as the key driver for diversity management, marginalisation of diversity offices in human resources departments, and low levels of authority, resources and support lend to the person of diversity manager.

11.2.3 What are the different forms of capital owned and strategies employed by diversity managers when they are realising their job, and how do these capitals and strategies shape the nature and boundaries of their agency?

In this study, I analysed different forms of capital owned by diversity managers and identified the specific sources of these capitals. Diversity managers have four key forms of capital at their disposal in varying degrees depending on their social, organisational and individual dispositions: economic capital (financial and human resources devoted to diversity management); cultural capital (human capital, and cultural and demographic background of diversity managers); social capital (involvement in formal and informal intra- and extra-organisational networks); and symbolic capital (positional authority of diversity manager and diversity office, and support and involvement of different organisational members).

The research findings revealed insufficiency of human capital theories that focus solely on individually ‘achieved’ competencies and skills based on education, experience and training, in explaining the sources of expertise, power and status of diversity managers. On the contrary, professional effectiveness of diversity managers and the potential power bases at their disposal are shaped by organisational and social factors as well as their individual competency attributes. In other words, different forms of capital which draw the boundaries of diversity managers’ agency are situated in the power matrix of the organisation and society. Both the macro-social structures such as legislation, institutional frameworks, labour market dynamics, and the meso-organisational structures such as organisational culture and formal governance and diversity dynamics,

do not only provide diversity managers with new sources of capital, but also determine the value and legitimacy of different forms of capital that they brought into their jobs.

Likewise, this research reveals that the leadership and change agency theories that focus on the traits and competencies aspect (e.g. Bass 1995; Dulewicz and Herbert 2000; Furnham 2002; Kirkpatrick and Locke 1991; Tichy 1974; Weick and Quinn 1999) would only offer an incomplete understanding of the diversity managers' agency, and are incapable of dealing with the complex and multi-level nature of the phenomenon. As discussed extensively in Chapter Three this literature is based on an ontological assumption which conceptualises organisational actors as free agents, whose acts and decisions are based on rational choice, and organisational change as a linear process. As a result, the mainstream change agency research does not attend to the power dynamics in the organisations and present blueprints for 'successful' leadership and change agency by attributing heroic qualities to organisational leaders and change agents.

This PhD research demonstrated that although diversity managers may define themselves as change agents within their organisations, their roles do not require them to be heroes in their organisations as suggested by the mainstream change agency literature. Instead their job requires diversity managers to move strategically within the organisational power field. This movement is limited by the amount of different forms of capital they own within the framework of the organisational subfield and *habitus* as well as by the strategies, which they employ to actualise the potentials of different forms of capital at their disposal.

When tackling the organisational power dynamics in their everyday job, diversity managers use several strategies to get their messages across their organisations. However, these strategies are shaped by the social forces rather than being purely results of the individual creativity or rational calculations of diversity managers. In other words, strategies employed by the diversity managers are in congruence with the wider socio-political context of diversity management as well as their relative power positions. Considering the association of the rise of diversity management approach with the rise of the neo-liberal and individualistic discourses in the field of employment; it is not a coincidence that the strategies that are most frequently used by the diversity managers are evolved around the rhetoric of business case and inclusion.

Through the lens of *praxis*, this thesis demonstrated that diversity managers' agency at the micro level embodies a symbiotic relationship between the symbolic power of knowing (awareness of diversity discourses) and doing (practice of diversity management through strategic action) in organisational settings. The *praxis* (Freire 1968) of diversity managers is a non-linear and negotiated phenomenon, which embeds daily activities of diversity management in organisational politics, resistance and power relationships. It takes place in the iterative process at individual and institutional levels where the logic of practice and the logic of discourse are intertwined through the medium of organisational *doxa* (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) as I discussed in Chapter 10.

This dynamic, negotiated and iterative nature of diversity managers' agency at the micro level suggests an understanding of diversity managers not as autonomous rational entities, as framed in the agentic literature, but as relational beings intertwined in a constant process of emergence and becoming in a context governed by social and organisational forces. Accordingly, understanding the micro level dynamics of diversity managers' agency requires an attention to macro-social mechanisms and structures pertaining in the field of diversity management as well as to the meso level aspects of diversity management, which manifest themselves as formal and informal processes and structures of power.

11.2.4 General conclusions

As an overall conclusion, this PhD research, on the basis of the field work evidence, identifies that multi-level influences account for the agency of diversity managers, and that diversity managers' power and influence is contingent upon macro, meso and micro levels of influence as well as the dynamic web of relations in which they are situated. Thus, the findings provide a contrast to the single level studies, which characterise the mainstream diversity management literature (e.g. Ancona and Caldwell 1992; Bhadury et al. 2000; Cordero et al. 1997; DiTomaso et al. 1996; Kirchmeyer and McLellan 1991; Milliken and Martins 1996; Tsui et al. 1992; Watson et al. 1993). In this section, I first provide a discussion of how the different strands of research are linked together and provide support for the claims made. Then, I offer a multi-level account of the resources and constraints of the agency of diversity managers.

11.2.4.1 Linking different strands of research together

In this section, I briefly discuss the ways in which the different strands of research and use of multi-method strategy have contributed to the multi level exploration of diversity managers' agency and the ways in which they link together to support the conclusions arrived in this study. To start with, this doctoral research has extensively benefited from the use of the semi-structured interviewing method which offered detailed and rich insights into the agency of diversity managers. Such a depth of understanding would not be possible if this study would have solely relied on quantitative methods. On the other hand, integrating quantitative data had its own merits and limitations. The obvious weakness of the questionnaire survey method is related to the fact that questions are based on the presumptions of the researcher, which may create a paradoxical situation in which the researcher's views and ideas are simply being confirmed without leaving any scope for emergence of new ideas, categories and concepts. Furthermore, due to the very nature of the tool, the data generated by questionnaire surveys are thin in content and scope compared to rich and in-depth representation of reality that can potentially be obtained through qualitative interviews. Nevertheless, the use of questionnaire survey method allowed me to access to the views and experiences of a large number of diversity officers and to have a bird's eye view of the field of diversity management. Accordingly, it has been very instrumental in terms of mapping out the context of diversity managers' agency.

In terms of the case study, the research had some limitations due to the research access issues. As I have explained in Chapter Five, I had to radically revise my research questions due to the fact that I have been provided with an informal access for interviewing only the diversity managers of the company, rather than being given the opportunity to talk to different organisational actors including the senior managers, line managers, trade union representatives and employers. A similar limitation presented itself in terms of my access to the company documents. Documentary analysis was heavily based on material with low confidentiality profile or which was readily available to public, such as the company web site, policy statements and documents, educational booklets for employees and dealerships, training materials, newsletters, conference and events publications. Thus, I did not have access to the internal documentation which may potentially disclose the state and impact of company's diversity management policies and programmes. Without analysing the implementation of policies and their impact on the work lives of the employees, it is hard to have a

complete picture of the current state of diversity management, and the effectiveness and authority of diversity managers in the company. Despite the limited nature of the research access, the case study of Ford provided a rich, real life example of diversity management in an actual organisational context as well as an opportunity for in-depth exploration of diversity managers' agency in the context of a global motor manufacturing company.

Furthermore, different strands of research, i.e. interviews with the diversity managers of large organisations in the UK, online questionnaire survey, and case study of Ford Motor Company, which included documentary review and interviews, identified similar influences on the agency of diversity managers at macro, meso and micro levels. For analytical clarity I have analysed the data from first and second strands of research in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, whilst I offered an analysis of the case study material in Chapters Nine and Ten. However, as several cross references between these analysis chapters indicate the three different strands of the field work link together to offer a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of diversity managers' agency. I argued in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight that diversity management field is impacted by cultural, institutional and business concerns. Interviews with diversity managers of large organisations also demonstrated the popularity of business case rhetoric and individualised conceptions of diversity as discussed in these chapters. Similarly, the case study material, which is analysed in Chapters Nine and Ten revealed that the business case is put forward by Ford Motor Company as the key motivation for diversity management and that the company's definition of diversity is based on an individualised understanding of difference. Furthermore, as I discussed in Chapter Ten, diversity managers of Ford strategically utilised the discourses of business case and inclusion in order to gain support, legitimacy and resources in their organisation.

Ironically, the analysis of interview and survey data pointed out that despite the currency of the business case at rhetorical level, institutional frameworks and legislation play a major role in the design of organisational diversity programmes as reflected by the overwhelming focus on positive action initiatives and on diversity strands, which are covered by the legislation. Likewise, legal enforcement has marked the launch of a robust diversity and equality programme at Ford of Britain. In addition, despite the individualised definition of diversity, the company's diversity initiatives, both in the UK and globally, targeted the structurally disadvantaged groups. A similar parallel between the findings of different strands of research was also evident in terms of organisational

as well professional resources and constraint of diversity managers. For instance, in Chapters Eight and Ten, which were informed by interview and survey data, and case study material respectively, I identified that social capital, which is gained through intra and extra organisational networks, symbolic capital, which is a reflection of formal and informal organisational support and status, and cultural capital, which is acquired through training, education, work experience and demographic background, are crucial for professional legitimacy and authority if diversity managers. For example, issues such as the senior management support, status of the diversity managers and diversity offices in organisational hierarchy, integration of diversity into the corporate and functional objectives of organisations, and importance of networking as a source of power, which were discussed in these chapters, were highlighted by all different research strands of this study.

11.2.4.2 Resource and constraints of diversity managers' agency

This study suggests a set of resources and constraints, which draw the boundaries of diversity managers' agentic power across macro, meso and micro levels. The resource and constraint implications of the dynamics governing the macro, meso and micro levels on the diversity managers' agency are outlined in Table 36.

Table 36: Resources and constraints of diversity managers’ agency

Levels	Resources	Constraints
Macro – Social Field	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Progressive laws• Supportive political environment• Culture of equality and inclusion• Institutionalised networks of diversity and equality bodies and groups• Trade union ownership for diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conservative laws• Unsupportive political environment• Culture of discrimination and backlash• Lack of institutionalised networks of diversity and equality bodies and groups• Lack of trade union ownership for diversity
Meso – Organisational Subfield and <i>Habitus</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A wide heterodox space• Cultures of inclusion• Supportive structures of diversity management• Organisational support and ownership for diversity management• Integration of diversity management• Financial and non-financial resources for diversity office and initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A narrow heterodox space• Regimes of inequality• Absence of supportive diversity management structures• Lack of organisational support and ownership for diversity management• Marginalisation of diversity management• Lack of resources for diversity office and initiatives
Micro - Individual Different forms of capital and Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Understanding and awareness of diversity and equality issues• Membership to networks• Access to professional development opportunities• Positional power and authority• Access to different forms of capital• Ability to use strategic discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of understanding and awareness of diversity and equality issues• Absence of networks• Lack of professional development opportunities• Lack of positional power and authority• Lack or insufficiency of necessary capitals• Incompetence to use strategic discourses

The field research findings revealed that, at the macro-social level, which refers to the field of diversity management, diversity managers’ agency is facilitated if there are laws and a political environment which is supportive of their agentic ambitions. Conversely, the backlash against equality legislation constrains the agentic power of diversity

managers as it reduces the visibility of inequalities in organisations, and undermines the legitimacy of organisational diversity and equality policies, programmes and initiatives.

As suggested by the field study, the presence of institutionalised networks of diversity and equality bodies and groups establishes an important resource for the agency of diversity managers by providing them with support, legitimacy and information.

However, this research uncovered that institutionalised diversity and equality networks were limited in number and scope, and this, in turn, deprived diversity managers of one of the key sources of professional development and identity. In addition to such networks, trade unions were important extra-organisational actors, whose support and ownership provided diversity managers with increased influence. For instance, the survey findings suggested that the organisations with higher levels of trade union ownership for diversity related issues were more like to have a diversity office and a budget for diversity, and vice versa.

At the meso-organisational level, diversity managers operate in highly political and emotive settings. This requires them to navigate between established organisational orders and possibilities of their transformation. As discussed in detail in Chapter 10, availability of a welcoming organisational *doxa*, which allows for a wide space for heterodoxy offers the diversity managers strategic space for manoeuvre, and greater levels of legitimacy. In contrast, organisations with narrow heterodoxic space associated with established rules and structures which contravene diversity and equality principles constrains the agency of diversity managers as it leads to a lack of organisational support and resources for diversity management.

The analysis of the research findings highlighted that organisational support for diversity management at different ranks and functions of the organisations is key to power and authority of diversity managers. Organisational regimes of inequality limit the strategic resources of diversity managers and place barriers on their capability to take action. In addition to organisational support and ownership that are lent to the diversity management policy, financial and human resources that are devoted to the diversity office and initiatives are important resources that diversity managers deploy throughout the design, delivery, implementation and monitoring of organisational diversity programmes. The lack of organisational resources, on the other hand, hampers diversity managers' credibility and legitimacy in their role. For instance, the case of Ford Motor Company illustrated that integration of diversity goals and objectives across

organisational functions provide diversity managers with power and authority over organisational members at different ranks of the organisational hierarchy. However, as survey results suggested, such integration did not exist in many organisations, leading to another set of constraints for diversity managers' agency due to their decreased levels of ability to monitor and control the implementation of diversity management policies and programmes in different functional departments in their organisations.

Finally, the thesis illustrated that for diversity managers, having a deep understanding and awareness of diversity and equality issues, and understanding of the wider diversity context in terms of structural inequalities and discrimination were key competencies. Such an awareness and understanding provide diversity managers with sources of clout and credibility in their organisations, and enhance their ability to draw up strategic plans and negotiate these within their organisations. However, the diversity managers' awareness was a necessary but insufficient condition for their effectiveness. As another finding from the research suggested, diversity managers drew on intra- and extra-organisational networks, which facilitated and supported their agency whilst the lack of such networks constrained their agency by undermining their professional identity and development.

In addition to networks, other sources of professional development, such as training and education were important for diversity managers to enhance their influence in the organisational setting. The absence of formal education opportunities specific to diversity management paired with the insufficiency of the available training programmes in terms of scope and content, served as a constraint for diversity managers' agency as access to professional development opportunities was a key for contraction of professional expertise and identity. Finally, diversity managers' ability to widen the boundaries of their agency and to negotiate higher levels of positional power and authority in their organisations, depended on their competency in strategically deploying different forms of capital. Therefore social, economic, symbolic and cultural capitals served as indispensable resources of diversity managers' agency. However, as the interview evidence illustrated, diversity managers also needed to have strategic capabilities to use such resources as required by the circumstances, drawing on a range of discourses.

11.3 Original contribution of the thesis and implications

In the first part of this section, I summarise the theoretical and methodological contribution of this doctoral research to the diversity management scholarship and to the wider field of management and organisational studies. Then, I discuss the policy and practice implications of the findings of the thesis.

11.3.1 Methodological and theoretical contribution and implications

This study contributes to the scholarship in the field of diversity management as well as to wider management literature in methodological, therefore also in epistemological and ontological grounds, since it offers an original attempt to utilise the principles of critical realist philosophy in the context of organisational research. Within that framework, Bourdieu's epistemological and ontological views have been interpreted and adopted for this research through a critical realist reading of his work. However, one of the key challenges that scholars face is to make use of and develop complex conceptual models in studying real life situations. This is particularly true for researchers who have attempted to draw on Bourdieu in order to frame their field studies. This is because the linkages between conceptual ideas and the sources of data in order to investigate them remain largely implicit.

This thesis provided, and then used a conceptual framework, which adopts, interprets and operationalises Bourdieu's highly abstract theory of human agency using a multi-method research strategy with a view to overcome traditional dualities of structure and agency, and qualitative and quantitative research. Thus, one of the original contributions of this PhD lies in its methodological approach. Studies in the field of diversity management tend to rely on a single method. The majority of the managing diversity studies are based on quantitative research, (e.g. Bantel and Jackson 1989; Chatman et al. 1998; Chevrier 2003; Dwyer et al. 2003; Hambrick et al. 1996; Knouse and Dansby 2000; O'Reilly et al. 1989; Raghuram and Garud 1996; Smith et al. 1994; Thomas and Ely 2002; Tsui and Ashford 1991; Tsui et al. 1992; Williams and O'Reilly 1998) whereas some others use qualitative data (Greene et al. 2005; Kirton and Greene 2006; Lawrence 2000; McCracken 2002; Parker 1999; Thomas 2002) or case studies (Burrett 2002; Caproni and Finley 1997; Dobbs 1998; Foldy and Creed 2003; Holder 1995; Maier 1997; Mills 1997) in order to explore issues related to diversity management. This doctoral study is a rare example, which offers a more robust and deeper analysis by incorporating all three methods.

As discussed earlier, there is a growing body of academic writing on diversity management. However, the mainstream diversity management literature displays some important limitations, including the weakness of its empirical and theoretical grounding; a tendency to de-contextualise the diversity management process by isolating it from its socio-economic and organisational settings; ignorance of the issues of power and discrimination which are embedded in organisational processes of diversity management (Prasad and Mills 1997). Furthermore, the agency of diversity managers, who are the most visible actors in the process of managing diversity, still continues to be an under-researched area.

Overall treatment of diversity managers in the mainstream diversity management literature is two-fold. First, in empirical studies diversity managers' agency is excluded as a variable. By excluding the agency of diversity managers, empirical research on diversity management deems the role and agency of diversity managers irrelevant. Second, prescriptive works on diversity management are underpinned by the implicit assumption of diversity managers as autonomous and rational individuals who are to a large extent free from organisational and social constraints in leading diversity management initiatives and programmes. Against such prescriptive tendencies and tendency to overlook the role of diversity managers in the processes of managing diversity, this thesis acknowledged that diversity managers, whose agency is relational and multi-layered, are important actors in diversity management process. Accordingly, this study explored and explained the multi-level influences on the agency of diversity managers. By providing a sociological and critical account of diversity managers' agency, this thesis aims to stimulate new scholarly discussions among researchers of diversity management.

It is worth noting the existence of a diversity management scholarship which critiques mainstream diversity management research. In this literature, whilst some studies identify the problem in structural circumstances (Mir et al. 2006; Perry and Parlamis 2006; Prasad 1997) and organisational realities (Bell and McLaughlin 2006; Oseen 1997; Proudford and Nkomo 2006; Scully and Blake-Beard 2006), others focus on agentic dynamics of equality and diversity at workplace (Creed 2006; Elmes and Connelley 1997; Hearn and Collinson 2006; Jacques 1997; Stone-Romero et al. 2006). However, these explanations are incomplete as they tend to focus either on individual agents or on

structures. This singular focus overemphasises structural mechanisms or individual actions which results in collapse of agency on structure or vice versa.

One of the common remedies for attending to agency and structure duality is to adopt a multilevel framework in which macro, meso and micro levels of analysis are respectively associated with structures, institutions, and agentic processes (Kirton and Greene 2000). In this thesis, I utilised such a multi-level framework for pragmatic purposes as it was useful to separate macro, meso and micro levels in order to gain analytical clarity for making sense of the mass of data, which was generated through the field research.

However, the multi-level approach in this study does not suggest a rigid framework, which associates structural influences with the macro level and agentic influences with the micro level. Instead, it acknowledges that structural and agentic processes are at work across all three levels of macro, meso and micro. Accordingly, one of the contributions of this thesis is that it offers an account of diversity managers' agency through the combined explanatory power of macro, meso and micro level components. Situating the diversity managers' agency in the interplay between agency and structures at micro, meso and macro levels, this research not only provides insights into an under-researched area in the literature, but makes an original contribution to the leadership and change agency literatures by presenting a relational, multilevel model for understanding agency in organisations.

11.3.2 Implications for policy and practice

Diversity policies tend to ignore the agency of diversity managers. In effect, diversity policies, both at the national and organisational levels, are underpinned by an assumption that the resources of the diversity management projects are independent of the person of the diversity manager. This PhD research identifies the necessity of bringing diversity managers' agency into the debate of diversity management policy. The research findings have policy implications on diversity managers' agency at both organisational and national levels.

At the organisational level, diversity policies and concerns need to be integrated across different organisational functions and into the corporate objectives. This should be supplemented with adequate resourcing and empowerment of the diversity manager and the diversity office. Specifically, diversity manager and the diversity office need to be

provided with the influence and power to monitor the different functions in the organisation in terms of diversity. This also means that diversity management should not be marginalised within HRM activities but should be tasked with a more comprehensive scope of activities covering all functional areas.

At national level, there is a need to empower diversity managers as an occupational group. Managing diversity is a relatively recent occupational category. Training and development of diversity managers is important for them to gain power and legitimacy at work. Such training and development activities may be offered by government agencies, universities, consultancies and professional bodies among others. Policy support for these developmental activities could ensure their sustainability. What seems to be particularly important for the effectiveness and legitimacy of diversity managers is their membership of diversity and equality networks. Therefore, national and organisational policy should support setting up and sustaining such networks.

Notwithstanding the fact that professional development opportunities and networks are essential sources of capital for diversity managers, this study revealed that legislation and trade unions play a major role in legitimacy of diversity managers' agency. Furthermore, the diversity management approach as a new paradigm accommodates both progressive and regressive tendencies in terms of promoting inclusive, fair and anti-discriminatory employment practices. This is particularly true for the discourse of diversity management due to its overwhelming emphasis of neo-liberal ideas of individualisation, voluntarism and business case.

Clearly, if concerns about structural inequalities and discrimination are silenced and rendered invisible under the shadow of neo-liberal denial of collectivism and an ethical case, diversity managers are more likely to function as protection officers rather than change agents. For these reasons, one of the policy implications of this research relates to the need to strengthen the progressive tendencies in the diversity management approach through stronger equality legislation and empowerment of trade unions. My research findings uncovered that diversity managers had greater level of organisational resources, legitimacy and power if there are external actors and structures supportive of their visions and agendas. Thus boundaries of diversity managers' agency will be widened in the presence of powerful extra organisational allies, whether it be trade unions and equality networks, or anti-discrimination legislation and the associated enforcement mechanisms.

11.4 Suggestions for future research

In this thesis, I have provided a conceptual framework for studying diversity managers' agency as well as offering an empirical account of diversity managers' agency, which is multilevel and relational. The exploration of the agency of diversity managers is also important in terms of its relevance to understanding the processes and examining the state of diversity management. Therefore, diversity management research needs to embed issues of agency as relevant to the processes and outcomes of diversity management. In addition to being integrated into the general diversity management research, as an under-researched area, diversity managers' agency deserves future research attention on its own right.

At the macro-social level, future research on diversity managers' agency would benefit from an analysis of wide range statistical evidence and policy documents in relation to diversity management. Critical studies of national, regional and international law and regulations are also necessary as legislative and regulatory frameworks equip diversity managers with legitimacy for their agentic demands. Furthermore, the investigation of the law at national and international level provides both an appreciation of current drivers for diversity as well as predictions for future change.

In addition to the legislative framework, there are institutional actors in the diversity field, including trade unions, employers' associations, professional equality and diversity bodies, which influence the agency of diversity managers. This PhD thesis acknowledges that diversity management process involves multiple stakeholders and plural support from the actors outside and inside of the organisation. Therefore, reports, regulations, best practice examples, textual, observational and audio-visual data from institutional actors in the field of diversity management could be useful sources to explore the context of diversity managers' agency. More importantly, qualitative and quantitative research on diversity and equality networks may prove to be exciting and resourceful sites of exploration for scholars of diversity management.

At the meso-organisational level, in order to situate the diversity managers' agency in the organisational subfield and the organisational *habitus*, further empirical research is needed on organisational culture and diversity management structure. In terms of examining objective structures, which govern the organisational subfield of diversity management, analyses of internal workforce statistics, employee and stakeholder

surveys may be a resourceful site of future research, which sets out to understand the challenges that diversity managers face. Further research is also needed to empirically uncover the dynamics of organisational *habitus*. Such research should incorporate a sense of history and change, since temporality is one of the key dimensions of *habitus*. Future research on organisational *habitus* may set out to disaggregate pertinent issues on diversity and intergroup relations, and to reveal the complex tapestry of power relationships and networks within the context of organisations.

At the micro-individual level, there is a pressing need for empirical studies, which explore the composition and volume of capital at the disposal of the diversity managers as well as the strategies and discourses used by them in order to mobilise these capitals. Such research may collect data on diversity managers' participation in networks, their beliefs, opinions and awareness as well as their demographic and distributive profiles. Last, but not the least, the academic knowledge on diversity management in general, and diversity managers' agency in particular, would extensively benefit from international and comparative research, which will help reveal the contextual nature of diversity management and agency of diversity managers by illustrating their variation across cultures and organisational settings.

11.5 PhD research as a learning experience

In this section, in the light of my learning experience throughout the doctoral research I critically reflect on the research design adopted for the field work. On the basis of these reflections, I then discuss what, with hindsight, I would do differently. As a researcher, the journey of PhD has been a very valuable experience for me, as it gave me the opportunity to explore an under-researched area, which, I believe, is very important and deserves research attention. Furthermore, the PhD study proved to be a both challenging and rewarding process, which widened my cognitive map and understanding, since it encouraged me to explicitly recognise, and then revisit my presumptions and convictions in term of research methods as I extensively discussed in Chapter Five by providing a self-reflexive account of the overall research process.

Despite the undisputable richness of the insights, which I have gained from the interviews, using semi-structured interviewing method had its limitations. My field study experience with diversity managers throughout the PhD process suggested that the presumed advantages of this method in terms of producing relatively detailed and

authentic data compared to quantitative methods may vary with different groups of participants. The interview participants had been reluctant to talk about negative aspects of their experiences as diversity managers. As I have discussed earlier in Chapter Five, one of the reasons for such a discrepancy was, I believe, the nature of one-to-one in-depth interviewing. In other words, diversity managers felt compelled to represent their organisations under a positive light in the interview situation and the questionnaire survey presented a better opportunity for them to reveal their real experiences at work. Thus, within the scope of my field work, the use of multiple methods involving both qualitative and quantitative techniques allowed me to have a multi-dimensional understanding of the context and nature of diversity managers' agency. However, there is clearly room for improvement in terms of research methods in order to further explore the hidden and underlying mechanisms of diversity managers' agency. So, what would I do differently, in an ideal world where I would have necessary time, resources and research access?

If I had the benefit of hindsight, there are a number of ways, which I would have conducted my doctoral research differently. With hindsight, I would use other qualitative research methods in addition to semi-structure interviews during the field work. As I have discussed above, it was my feeling with regards to the interviews that the research participants were not completely transparent and honest throughout their narrations of their organisations and their experience. I believe that I would gain invaluable insights if I had the opportunity to use observational techniques and work shadowing. An opportunity to observe diversity managers in their organisational setting when they are doing their everyday job would help me better understand the processes of negotiation, strategy making and networking as well as the status, power, resources and constraints of diversity managers.

Also, it would be fascinating to have the opportunity to conduct a longitudinal study in order to explore the career progression of diversity managers and the changes in their diversity and equality agendas and perspectives. I am aware of several anecdotes, which suggest that careers of diversity managers, who have a good reputation and standing in the field, are uncharacteristic compared to their colleagues in other functional areas in the sense that they change jobs frequently, being transferred from one organisation to another in every couple of years. I would be very keen to understand the reasons behind such an atypical career path and to investigate whether this is a general trend in the

field. Furthermore, a longitudinal study would give me an opportunity to examine how different organisational settings impact on diversity managers' agency.

Finally, the investigation of diversity managers' agency is incomplete without understanding the power, influence and agenda of other key actors in the field of diversity management. Acknowledging that the diversity management process involves a multiparty engagement, I think that exploring the views of actors outside and inside of the organisation would help me better understand and situate diversity managers within the context of their organisations and within the wider context of diversity industry. My involvement in other research projects showed me that there is a multiplicity of perspectives on diversity management. For instance, consultants and employers' organisations hastily embrace and advocate the concept as a new method for increasing competitiveness and work performance. Conversely, the notion of diversity management receives much scepticism from trade unions and cautious reception from governmental equality agencies regarding the adequacy of the approach in addressing social and workplace inequalities. If I was afforded wider research access, I would have conducted interviews with different stakeholders including employees, senior and middle managers, representatives of trade unions, equality and diversity bodies, and employers' organisations.

11.6 Concluding remarks

It seems to me that scholars have a decisive role to play in the struggle against the new neoliberal doxa (Bourdieu 2003b: 23)

In this study, I looked at agency of diversity managers, and organisational practices and dominant academic and practitioner rhetoric surrounding this agency. I have largely drawn on Bourdieu's concepts as orienting and sensitising devices in order to overcome agency and structure dualism. Yet to be mentioned is another dualism, which Bourdieu advocated its demise: the duality of scholarship and commitment. Bourdieu (2003b: 24) proposed a 'scholarship with commitment' in order to overcome this last form of dualism:

Writers, artists, and especially researchers must breach the 'sacred boundary' inscribed in their minds between scholarship and commitment in order to break out of academic microcosm and to enter resolutely into sustained exchange with the outside world instead of being content with waging the 'political' battles, at once intimate and ultimate, and always a bit unreal, of the

scholastic universe. Today's researchers must innovate an improbable but indispensable combination: scholarship with commitment.

Bourdieu (1998b, 1999, 2003b) believed that social scientists must engage in a permanent critique of the policy of de-politicisation and must restore political thinking and action. In order to battle against the neo-liberal, individualistic and depoliticising tendencies in diversity management, there is a need for proliferation of critical research on managing diversity. There is a need for more research, which critiques pseudoscientific scholarship in the field of diversity management, and uncovers the hidden assumptions and reasoning of dominant diversity management discourses, that fake themselves as progressive. There is a need for more research on the outcomes of diversity management practices in order to bring experiences of dominated groups into the agenda. And there is a need for more research into the agency of diversity managers, who are caught in the midst of a process of symbolic domination in which organisational power holders attempt to extend their domination at the work place by reducing employee diversity into individual level, and employers set out to strip themselves of as much ethical and legal obligations as possible through advocacy of voluntarism.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Evolution of Equal Opportunities Legislation in the European Union

The term ‘equal opportunity’ is the legacy of the first wave women’s movement marked by the liberal demands of suffragettes, flourished in the 19th century European context. As Jaquette (1990: 57) puts forward, “the call for equality and demands for democratic rule are synonymous with modern politics. (...) The 19th century feminist movement added women to the category of human to which the equality principle should apply”. Subsequently, sphere of employment has become the basic focus of the equal opportunities frameworks. At the EU level, Article 119 in the founding Treaty of Rome, which committed the member states to equal pay for men and women, has marked the beginning of the commitment to equal opportunities between men and women. However, engaging with the concept is complicated, because it is generally loosely defined. Rees (1998:3) indicates that “Equal opportunity has proved to be an enormously difficult objective to define, let alone deliver, and the complexity of the concept has become ever more apparent”.

Furthermore, the interpretation of the EU equal opportunities framework is a continuing process of redefinition and negotiation across national settings. We are engaging with a continuing process of redefinition and negotiation instead of a clear cut phenomenon and a completed process. This formation and re-formation process demands investigation and interpretation of the changes associated with the connotations attached to the term ‘equal opportunities’. Interpretation and implementation of the EU’s equal opportunities principles and policy at national context is informed by gendered socio-economic contexts of member states (Hoskyns 1996; Ostner and Lewis 1995). If equal opportunities is seen as an anti-discrimination perspective which tackles not only gender discrimination, but all forms of discrimination, the UK legislation exemplifies one of the most developed and sophisticated frameworks throughout Europe with the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975; the Race Relations Act of 1976 (amended in 2000); Equal Pay Act of 1970 (amended in 1983); the Disabled Persons Employment Act of 1944; the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (amended in 2004); and Rehabilitation of Offenders Act of 1974. Most recently, the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations and the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) of 2003, and the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations of 2006 have been introduced in the UK in order to implement the European Employment Directive of 2000 (EC 2000a). These recent changes to the equality legislation in the UK demonstrate the progressive impact

of the EU framework. Thus, it is important to have an understanding of the evolution of the EU level equal opportunities legislation.

This paper aims to track the evolution of ‘equal opportunities’ within the European framework. The primary focus is placed on the evolving interpretation of the concept and the resulting shifts and changes in the policies and strategies of equal opportunities at the EU level. Changes in the wider social, cultural, political and economic structures of the Member States and global macro-economic transformations are also incorporated to the analysis as they have crucial effects in drawing the boundaries of the framework for the policy and practice of equal opportunities in the field of employment.

From 1957 to 1970: the first steps

Equal opportunities between men and women has been first formulated at the European level in 1957, by Article 119 in the founding Treaty of Rome, which committed the Member States to equal pay for men and women:

Each Member State shall during the first stage ensure and subsequently maintain the application that men and women should receive equal pay for *equal work*.

For the purpose of this article, ‘pay’ means ordinary basic or minimum wage or salary and any other consideration whether in cash or in kind which the worker receives, directly and indirectly, in respect of his employment from his employer.

Equal pay without discrimination based on sex means:

- (a) that pay for the *same work* at piece rates shall be calculated on the basis of the same unit of measurement
- (b) that pay for the *same work* at time rates shall be the same for the *same job*. (emphasis mine)

However, commitment of European Economic Community (EEC) to equality principle at this first stage was limited to the field of employment and particularly inequality in pay, more specifically to equal pay for equal work that requires the existence of a man doing the same job in the organisation in question. Considering that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention at the time was covering the principle of equal pay for equal value of work, the EEC perspective can be deemed relatively weak from the start.

Article 119 has come within the section of the Treaty that deals with social policy. And, as many commentators point out, the motive behind the Article was economic rather than being a reflection of a concern with social justice and equal opportunities (Cox

1993; Hegewisch and Mayne 1994; Young 2000), more precisely Article 119 was “responding to the anxieties of French employers. France at that time was contemplating the introduction of equal pay for women, and they were worried that it would undermine their competitiveness if other Member States didn’t have to give equal pay” (Hall-Smith et al. 1983: 7-8). Indeed, apart from gender equality and Article 119, the general commitment of the Treaty is economic rather than social. Social policy mattered as long as it encourages the creation of a common market and ‘fair competition’ between the Member States as it is clearly indicated in Article 3 and Article 117 of the Treaty, and individuals were treated primarily as bearers of labour and as economic agents. The Article 3 calls for the necessity of “a system ensuring that competition in the internal markets is not distorted”, while Article 117 committed the Member States to promote improvement in working conditions and life standards for workers for harmonisation across the EEC and states that “such a development will ensure not only from the functioning of the common market, (...) but also from the procedures provided for in this Treaty and from the approximation of provisions laid down by law”. Hall-Smith et al. (1983: 26) argues that “in the Treaty as a whole, when people and their circumstances are considered, it is workers and the situation at work which are given the highest priority. This is the aspect of people’s lives seen as most relevant to what is primarily an economic community. The limitations of this on a policy for women are obvious, since the position of women in the work force depends so crucially upon their position in the home”. Similarly, Young (2000: 84) puts forward that the main purpose of the social policy introduced by the Treaty of Rome is “to remove barriers to cross-border mobility among workers”.

Despite the fact that Article 119 was not a result of pressing gender equality agenda, subsequent years would witness somewhat unintended consequences of this first step towards equality between men and women at the European level, and Article 119 served as the starting point for the application of a much wider social principle of equality between the sexes, regarding the different aspects of the EU level employment policy. However, this first step in 1957 has been followed by a period of stagnation, non-action and ignorance with respect to gender equality in employment. Although the EEC law prevails over national law and Article 119 clearly put forward that all Member States should be committed to principle of equal pay within four years, it was not until 1970s that any debate or improvement regarding equal pay has been recorded. This may be due to the lack of clarity both on the relationship between the European Law and national laws, and on the meaning of and mechanisms to enforce ‘equal pay for equal work’.

The 1970s: focus on improving the Equal Opportunities Legislation

In the 1970s, the 'equal pay' debate has started partly with the effect of the three Defrenne cases (in 1971, 1976 and 1978) which were referred to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) by the Belgian National Court. The ECJ has been an important juridical body with regard to the implementation of equal opportunity framework in the Member States, via the case law that produce principles of interpretation of the European Law on sex discrimination (for the cases referred to and the subsequent judgements of the ECJ between 1971 and 1998 see Employment and Social Affairs 1999 and for the discussions on the impacts of ECJ's case law on the practice of equal opportunities, see: Barnard 1998; Campbell and Lardy 1996; Dougan 1999; Ellis 1994; Heide 1999; McGlynn and Farrelly 1999; Prechal 1993; Schiek 1998; Szyszczak 1996). The Defrenne cases made explicit the necessity for the clarification of the scope of enforcement and meaning of Article 119. The impact of the cases was two-fold. First, the ECJ's judgement in 1976 (Case 43/75) made it clear that Article 119 takes precedence over the national laws, and that it is binding for both public and private actors:

The principle that men and women should receive equal pay, which is laid down by Article 119, maybe relied on before the national courts. The courts have a duty to ensure the protection of the rights which that provision vests in individuals, in particular in the case of those forms of discrimination which have their origin in legislative provisions or collective labour agreements, as well as where men and women receive unequal pay for equal work which is carried out in the same establishment or service, whether private or public (Employment and Social affairs 1999: 14).

Second, the judgement of European Court of Justice (ECJ) showed that the scope of the Article 119 is too narrow to cope with the issues of gender discrimination in the work place due to the fact that it is limited to pay and direct discrimination. These points were expressed by the ECJ in its decision regarding the Case 80/70 as:

Although consideration in the nature of social security was not in principle alien to the concept of pay, social security schemes or benefits, in particular retirement pensions, directly governed by legislation, could not be brought within the concept of pay as defined in Article 119 (Employment and Social Affairs 1999: 11)

and regarding the Case 43/75 as

a distinction should be drawn within the whole area of application of Article 119 between, first, direct and overt discrimination which might be identified solely with the aid of the criteria based on equal work and equal pay referred by the article in question and, secondly, indirect and disguised discrimination

which could only be identified by reference to more explicit provisions of a Community or national character (Employment and Social Affairs 1999: 13).

Defrenne cases were important because it was the first time that a case was referred to the ECJ on the basis of Article 119 and it made apparent that the Article excludes various kinds of sex discrimination in the area of employment. In addition to rising awareness about the narrow approach of the EEC on equality between the sexes, the 1970s were marked by the rise of new social movements and popular discontent in the member states. Although the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s was characterised by rapid economic growth in the European countries, this trend of economic development was not associated with societal progress. This led to the flourishing of a new understanding that economic growth is not sufficient for development, but developing active social policies to cope with social underdevelopment is crucial. These developments led to an increasing need for the EEC to consider the social, as well as economic, dimension of the common market, and to adopt the Social Action Programme in 1974 that put emphasis on “the need to take action at the European level to humanise the work conditions and to improve the position of the disadvantaged groups within the society” (Hall-Smith et al. 1983: 29).

The impact of the trends mentioned above on equal opportunities policy was the adoption by the Council of Ministers of three directives. As the Article 189 of the Treaty of Rome maintains, “In order to carry out their task the Council and Commission shall, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, make regulations, issue directives, take decisions, make recommendations or deliver opinions”. In order to understand the relative weight and binding power of the EU directives, a familiarity with the EU lexicon is necessary. The following summary by Rees (1998: 218) of the nuances between different components of the EU legislative systems, namely, recommendations and opinions, directives, regulations and decisions, which are issued by the Community, is very helpful in that respect:

A directive is binding upon the Member States to which it is addressed, but leaves it to the national authorities to choose the form and methods of implementation. A regulation is binding in its entirety and directly applicable to Member States. A decision is binding in its entirety upon those to whom it is addressed. Commission recommendations and Council opinions have no binding force, but indicate policy directions

Nevertheless, as a follow up of the Social Action Programme in 1974, the EU has issued the directives on women on Equal Pay (75/117/EEC), Equal Treatment in Employment and Training (76/207/EEC) and Equal Treatment in Social Security (79/7/EEC) in 1975, 1976 and 1978 respectively. The first and second directives, citing the Social Action

Programme, maintained that taking action on behalf of women in terms of “access to employment, and vocational training and promotion, and as regards to working conditions including pay” is a priority for achieving the aims of the Social Action Programme and in order to reinforce a balanced social and economic development of the community (EC 1975, 1976, 1979).

Equal Pay Directive (1975) widened the coverage of ‘equal pay’, which was introduced in the Article 119, by including the principle of ‘equal pay for work of equal value’, and called the Member States to introduce and use of non-discriminatory job evaluation schemes. The directive reads:

The principle of equal pay for men and women outlined in Article 119 of the Treaty, hereinafter called ‘principle of equal pay’, means, for the same work or for work to which equal value is attributed, the elimination of all discrimination on grounds of sex with regard to all aspects and conditions of remuneration.

In particular, where a job classification system is used for determining pay, it must be based on the same criteria for both men and women and so drawn up as to exclude any discrimination on grounds of sex (EC 1975: 19).

The directive is a step forward from the ‘same work’ emphasis of the Article 119, the determination of the ‘work of equal value’ remains to be problematic and ambiguous, especially when gendered nature of the ‘value’ attributed to jobs, and of skill definitions and evaluations are considered.

Second directive is the Equal Treatment Directive of 1976. It is the Council Directive on the Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment for Men and Women as regards Access to Employment, Vocational Training and Promotion, and Working Conditions and defines ‘equal treatment’ as follows:

The principle of equal treatment shall mean that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever on grounds of sex either directly or indirectly by reference in particular to marital or family status (EC 1976: 40).

Although limited to the field of employment and to the provisions of the directive, this was the first time that combating with indirect, as well as direct, discrimination has been accepted as a target for promoting equal opportunities between sexes. Hall-Smith et al. (1983: 68) point out the opportunities opened up by the directive since it “covers all working conditions and is concerned with both direct and indirect discrimination also gives it potentially a wide scope” (Hall-Smith et al. 1983: 70). However, the meaning of indirect discrimination was unclear except an ambiguous reference to family and marital

status. In June 2000, the European Commission has issued a draft directive amending the directive (76/207/EEC) which was adopted in September 2002 subsequently, and offer a clear definition of indirect discrimination as a situation where

an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice disadvantages a substantially higher proportion of the members of one sex unless that provision, criterion or practice is appropriate and necessary and can be justified by the objective factors unrelated to sex.

The Equal Treatment Directive is committing the member states to ensure equal treatment for women and men in the areas of access to employment- including the selection criteria- “in all jobs and posts” (Article 3), access to all types and to all levels of vocational guidance, vocational training, advanced vocational training and retraining” (Article 4) and working conditions-including dismissal (Article 5).

Lastly, in the 1970s the Directive on Equal Treatment for Men and Women in the Social Security Schemes was enacted. The directive covers “working population- including self-employed persons, workers and self-employed persons whose activity is interrupted by illness, accident or involuntary unemployment and persons seeking employment- and retired or invalidated workers and self-employed persons” and applies to “(a) statutory schemes which provide protection against the following risks: sickness, invalidity, old age, accidents of work and occupational diseases, unemployment; (b) social assistance, in so far as it is intended to supplement or replace the schemes referred to in (a)” (EC 1979: 24).

As a brief note, the aspects which were not covered by the Directive 76/207/EEC, would later be covered by the Council Directive (86/613/EEC) of 1986 on the Application of the Principle of Equal Treatment between Men and Women Engaged in an Activity, Including agriculture, in a Self-Employed Capacity, and on the Protection of Self-Employed Women during Pregnancy and Motherhood. Citing the first Community Action Programme on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Women (1982-1985) which advocates the application of the principle of equal treatment to self-employed women and to women in agriculture (Action 5), the Directive 86/613/EEC also covered the self-employed workers’ spouses without professional status of self-employed workers and spouses who are “not being employees or partners, where they habitually participate in the activities of the self-employed worker and perform the same tasks or ancillary tasks” (EC 1986b: 56). This later Directive is important for it makes visible the women’s work in an area where it is rendered invisible, when it is considered that most of the women in agriculture and small family enterprises are working as

unwaged family labourers, while their husbands holding the status of self-employed workers

Nevertheless, returning back to the Directive 76/207/EEC, the directive allowed seven years, which is a very long period for the implementation of a directive, to the member states to implement its provisions. Hall-Smith et al. (1983: 80-81) assert that this was due to the fact that social security schemes in the most EEC countries “have been modelled upon the assumptions of the husband being the dominant wage-earner, married women’s wages being only supplementary, or for ‘pin money’, thus perpetuating notions of women’s dependency”. The directive was reflecting a change in understanding towards a more gender equality in social security. This was achieved partly by undermining the traditional assumptions based on heterosexual nuclear family where women are economically dependent on their husbands and also by committing the member states to take the necessary measures to adjust their social security systems to a gender neutral line. Again, in 1986, Council has adopted another Equal Treatment Directive (86/378/EEC) on Social Security (Directive on the Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Occupational Social Security Schemes) to cover the area of occupational social security schemes which is not governed by Directive 79/7/EEC (EC 1986a: 40).

Between 1978 and 1982, two reports were issued by the Commission as an outcome of the monitoring of implementation by the member states of the provisions of Equal Pay Directive (75/117/EEC) and Equal Treatment Directive (76/207/EEC). The Report on Equal Treatment Directive deserves to be mentioned here, because for the first time the term ‘positive discrimination’ has been used by the EEC and necessity for ‘positive discrimination’ as well as the legislative amendments conforming to the principle of equality, has been pointed out for overcoming the disadvantageous position of women in the field of employment.

Interestingly, Rees (1998) points out that both concepts ‘positive discrimination’ and ‘positive action’ have been used by the EU for nearly two decades without any clarification in their definition despite fundamental differences between two concepts. Suggesting that positive action is rather superficial and much less transformatary in its impact compared to positive discrimination, Rees (1998: 34, 37) identifies the difference between two concepts as follows:

Positive action measures seek to create ‘a level of playing field’ or ‘to untie the hand behind women’s backs’. The emphasis shifts from equality of access to creating conditions more likely to result in equality of outcome by equalising the

starting positions... Positive discrimination seeks to bring about changes to the status quo through mechanisms designed to increase the participation of the under-represented group... Positive discrimination goes further than positive action. It acknowledges that discrimination exists and needs to be addressed: it seeks to redress uneven balances.

Within the same time period, the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights that was set up by the European Parliament in 1979 to prepare a report to be presented to the UN Conference on Women in 1980, has drafted a resolution which went "much further than any previous statement of EEC policy on women" and made "clear that the objective should not be just to compel states to pass comparable legislation, but to adopt a wide-ranging policy to end discrimination. (...) For the first time, in this resolution there are proposals which not only go beyond the situation of women at work, but also touch on the previously totally disregarded areas of sexuality and emotional and psychological relations of men and women" (Hall-Smith et al. 1983: 33).

The 1980s: pro-active stance and positive action for equality of opportunities in the field of employment

These two developments together have marked the beginning of the adoption of a more pro-active policy stance by the EEC and later by the EU both at *de jure* and *de facto* levels, despite the fact that the policies continued to be limited to the field of employment in most cases.

In 1981, the first Community Action Programme on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Women covering the period from 1982 to 1985 has been published. On the Council Resolution (82/C 186/03) of 1982 on the Programme it is admitted that;

(D)espite the efforts so far made at both community and national level, actual inequalities in employment persist and may well become worse in the present economic and social conditions
and

in the period of economic crisis, the action undertaken at Community and national level should be not only continued but also intensified, in particular in order to promote the achievement of equal opportunities in *practice* through the implementation of inter alia *positive measure* (EC 1982: 3).
(italics mine)

The Community Action Programme was covering 16 specific objectives under two main headings of 'the achievement of equal treatment by strengthening individual rights' and 'the achievement of equal opportunities in practice, particularly by means of positive action programmes'. While the first set of objectives is in continuity with the legalistic approach of EEC on equal opportunities, the second part of the programme is

explicitly asserting the need for positive action measures by the member states. Another important point is the inclusion of action to support a more balanced division of labour between men and women with respect to occupational, family and social responsibilities, within the positive action framework. Later, the scope and meaning of the term ‘positive action’ is defined more clearly in the Council Recommendation (86/635/EEC) of 1984 on the Promotion of Positive Action for Women:

Existing legal provisions on equal treatment, which are designed to afford the rights to individuals, are inadequate for the elimination of all existing inequalities unless parallel action is taken by governments, both sides of industry and other bodies concerned, to counteract the prejudicial effects on women in employment which arise from social attitudes, behaviour and structures (EC 1984a: 34).

It is recommended that the member states adopt positive action policies in order to eliminate the prejudicial effects of “idea of a traditional division of roles in society between men and women” and “to encourage the participation of women in various occupations in those sectors of working life where they are at present under-represented” (EC 1984a: 34). Awareness raising on equality of opportunity, diversification of vocational choice, provision of guidance and counselling services to the unemployed women, encouragement and recruitment of women candidates to the sectors and professions where they are under-represented, adapting working time and adjusting the organisation of work and working time, active participation by women in decision making bodies representing workers, employers and the self employed, are pointed out as the areas of positive action.

At the end of the year 1982, Hall-Smith et al. (1983: 36) summarise the point reached regarding equal opportunities at the European level as follows:

The Commission and the Council of Ministers are still unwilling to see the EEC deal with the total situation of women – at home and at work. And except for the limited initiative of some women MEPs (Member of European Parliament), the EEC totally ignores women’s rights in the areas of sexuality, sexual orientation, and protection from male violence. Nevertheless, at least in the employment field, a progression is being made from a concern with the formal legal structure only, to an attempt to tackle some of the more deep-rooted problems women face.

In the mean time, European countries were experiencing a period of economic recession that is reflected in the rising unemployment and inflation figures. This period that is termed as Reaganism or Thatcherism, has resulted in the retrenchment of welfare state and increasing dominance of laissez-faire policies all over the world, to use the words of Jessop (1993) European ‘Keynesian welfare states’ have been evolved to

‘Schumpeterian workfare states’. The neo-liberal policies are based on the faith of the market efficiency stemming from the assumption that free markets are superior mechanisms for allocating resources and resolving the problems of capitalist economies by ensuring economic development. The primary objectives of the neo-liberal policies were open trade and capital accounts, privatisation and free-market, all of which limit macro-economic policies to price stability, low inflation and balanced budgets regardless of the implications for social development (UNRISD, 2000). Within the framework of globalisation, reducing labour costs has become central for the competition capacity of the firms which in turn led to reduction in social expenditures. Young (2000: 79), borrowing from Gramsci, argues that globalisation has strengthened the orientation of the common market towards the formation of “a new transnational historic bloc that operates within and across national boundaries and seeks to gain global hegemony” and identifies the basic building stones of this formation as the Single European Act of 1986 and later the Treaty on European Union signed at Maastricht in 1992:

Nationalist neocorporatist strategies for economic coordination lost their attraction in the light of US high-dollar and high-interest policies, increasing Japanese penetration into the European markets and the realisation that the European markets were too small to become global players. The preparation of the White Paper on Completing the Internal Market (1985) and the adoption of the Single European Act (1986) can be interpreted in the spirit of Margaret Thatcher’s vision of destroying the post-war corporatist consensus between capital, the state and labour and replacing it with monetarist stabilisation and supply-side flexibility (Young 2000: 80).

In the field of social policy all of these changes mean curtailing of public expenditure, retrenchment of public sector employment, reduction in the quality and quantity of social services, and reduction or elimination of subsidies (UNRISD 1993: 37; UNRISD 2000: 3). Within this context, social development and social policy is approached only in remedial terms with an ‘ambulance approach’ (UNRISD 1999), and rapidly growing ‘humanitarian deficit’ (UNRISD 1993) is rendered invisible for the sake of ‘budget deficits’. Esping-Anderson (2000) states that neo-liberal economic understanding which has become dominant in the period, undermined the universalistic social policy approach by limiting the public spending only to the cases of ‘market failure’. Increasing levels of unemployment accompanied by diminishing rates of public sector employment throughout Europe together with the flexibilisation of work had adverse effects on the position of women in the gendered labour markets of the member states, although at varying degrees (Perrons 1999).

Within this context where structural unemployment has become one of the major concerns of the member states, a commission recommendation and three council resolutions were issued by the EEC to combat female unemployment. These are:

- Council Resolution (84/C 161/02) of 7 June 1984 on Action to Combat Unemployment Amongst Women
- Second Council Resolution (86/C 203/02) of 24 July 1986 on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Women
- Council Resolution (88/C 333/01) of 16 December 1988 on the Reintegration and Late Integration of Women into Working Life
- Commission Recommendation (87/567/EEC) of 24 November 1987 on Vocational Training for Women

The Council Resolution (84/C 161/02) of 1984 on Combating Unemployment Amongst Women, stressed that “female unemployment in the Community, which is noticeably higher than male unemployment (...) is a worrying aspect of the general employment situation in the Community”. The resolution encourages positive action in respect of job creation and recruitment and in the fields of education, vocational training and guidance.

Issuing of the resolution was the EEC’s response to the process of reorganisation of employment structure in Europe. This reorganisation process was characterised by growth in service and IT sector as opposed to diminishing manufacturing sector as well as by rising levels of unemployment and flexibility. The process led to increasing levels of part-time working, and encouragement of entrepreneurship and SMEs. Accordingly, the resolution emphasises the necessity for (i) reorganisation of working time so as to permit greater flexibility in working hours; (ii) promoting women’s representation especially in high technology industries; (iii) providing women with “equal access to financial and other facilities available for the creation of businesses”; (iv) providing “more appropriate qualifications for female workers particularly affected by industrial restructuring and innovation”; and (v) ensuring that “voluntary part-time work does not lead to increased sexual segregation on the labour market” (EC1984b: 4).

The priorities and spirit similar to those of Council Resolution (84/C 161/02), were apparent in the Second Council Resolution of 1986 on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities which was issued in support of the second Medium-term Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women (1986-1990) which reiterates the importance of promoting job creation for the realisation of equal opportunities in economic, social and cultural life. Through the Resolution the Member States were called to take appropriate measures to implement the objectives of the Programme that advocates the combination of effective application of existing equal opportunities legislation with the positive

action measures to promote the education, training and employment of women, particularly concerning with new technologies, enterprise creation and self-employed occupations (EC 1986c: 2). In a similar vein, Commission Recommendation (87/567/EEC) of 24 November 1987 on Vocational Training for Women, also stresses the need for considering the impact of structural crisis of the labour market and introduction of new technologies on women's employment. It recommends introduction of guidance and training services and programmes, particularly in the non-traditional, technical and technological fields where women are under-represented. Recommendation also admits the important role of European Social Fund to the financing of vocational training operations at Community level.

Council Resolution (88/C 333/01) of 16 December 1988 on the Reintegration and Late Integration of Women into Working Life, was pointing out to the disadvantageous position of women in the field of employment stemming from the "difficulty of reconciling their working life and family life" which is resulted in career-breaks or late-entry, hence in deficiencies regarding the skills and qualifications that are in demand; and calling on the Member States to ensure the access of these women to vocational training programmes or other measures to "build-up their self-confidence and develop their basic technical skills" and calling on the Commission "to take account, within the rules of the European Social Fund, of measures for the reintegration and late integration of women into the working life" (EC 1988: 1).

All these developments at the level of policy and legislation level draw a quite positive picture of Europe at the threshold of the 1990s, regarding the equality of opportunity between men and women. The EU's approach to equal opportunities was no longer limited to the narrow confines of the legalistic commitment to pay equality. Moreover, the reference of Council Resolution (88/C 333/01) and Commission Recommendation (87/567/EEC) to the European Social Fund (ESF), which aims to enhance employability through economic development and vocational training, in terms of financing the equal opportunity programmes is crucial. However, Rees (1998) exemplifies how the programmes of the ESF are informed by gendered frameworks. Analysing the case of youth employment programmes in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, she puts forward:

Gender was a highly significant factor in who was offered what opportunities in the ESF-supported schemes in Northern Ireland, and provisions was shaped by the social construction of a moral panic about the disorder that unemployed men compared with workless women create. The main concern about young unemployed women was usually couched in the fears about their becoming young single parents, or falling into prostitution (Rees 1998: 150).

Indeed, this ESF example is one among many and the adverse effects of the gendered socio-economic frameworks in the member states create obstacles and constraints peculiar to each national context, with regard to the implementation of the principles of the European equal opportunities legislation and policy at different levels and in different areas. For instance, Hoskyns (1996: 123) reviewing the implementation of equal opportunity directives in Germany and Ireland concludes that the aim in both countries “seems to have been to make sure that changes induced by the EC did not move policy to far from what were perceived to be the country’s norms and values”. Similarly, Ostner and Lewis (1995: 177) assert the influence of the different ‘gender orders’ in Europe, with regards to national structures of labour markets, social policies and patterns of unpaid ‘caring’ work, on the implementation of gender-equity policy at the national level and argue that national interpretations of the principle of equal opportunity are kept in conformity with the culturally embedded assumptions about national gender roles.

Hence, considering the prevailing deep-rooted national social structures that are discriminatory against women, gender neutral stance of EEC or EU with respect to equal opportunities has meant reproduction of discrimination in most times. If we return to the case of the ESF, Lefebvre (1993) notes that “The ESF co-financed measures may well be open to men and women in theory, but they are neither neutral nor asexual in practice and they reproduce the discriminations of the employment market” (quoted in Rees 1998: 155). According to Rees (1998: 154):

Given that women have higher rates of unemployment than men, including long-term unemployment, and that they comprise the majority of the low-skilled and disadvantaged workers in the EU, the fact that they are not at the top of the Member States’ priority lists, nor the majority of the ESF beneficiaries, is clearly a paradox.

She describes the ESF’s equal opportunities approach as “laissez-faire, with a model of equal treatment supplemented with some positive action” (Rees 1998:158-159). Thus, equal opportunities policies seem like just an addendum to the general EEC or EU policies with some positive action measures in specific areas with limited scope. As long as they are not incorporated to the policies in the other fields, the goal of equality of opportunity remains, mostly, unreachable at the European level and equal opportunity policies hardly go further than a lip service to the internationally accepted principle of anti-discrimination in the grounds of sex. On the integration of equal opportunities principle to the European employment policy, Rubery et al. (1998) point out two sets of obstacles. The first is the absence of a political will of the member states to adopt an equal opportunities framework, accompanied with the lack of clarity about

the meaning of equal opportunity employment policy. Second set of limitations stems from the macroeconomic policy framework at the European level that is dominated by supply-side oriented measures from the Single European Act of 1986 on. According to Rubery et al. (1998), it seems hard to solve the problem of women's unemployment through the training programmes which seek to improve the skills and qualifications of women. This is particularly difficult in the absence of demand-side interventions that aim to stimulate job creation. Such demand-side interventions are based on the full employment policies of Keynesian macroeconomic management and they have been abandoned in the neoliberal global framework. Young (2000: 82-83) in a critical tone suggests:

The implications of all of this for a social and gender-friendly Europe are at best contradictory. At worst, the equal opportunity employment policies are rendered quite unrealistic. (...) To promote employment of women in the absence of an active job-creation policy and in the context of public sector cutbacks seems like trying to square a circle. (...) It is difficult to see how, in the absence of the revival of the public sector, private sector can generate the required job growth to absorb the increased labour supply. (...) The neoliberal economic environment shuts the door to a public sector employment strategy that, in fact, was the job creator for women in the social democratic Scandinavian model.

The 1990s: development of mainstreaming approach to equality

On the basis of her review of the EU's equal opportunities policies, Rees argues that the Union has gone through three main periods in terms of its equal opportunities approach: periods of equal treatment, positive action and gender mainstreaming. She says:

A distinct shift in thinking can be detected between the first two action programmes, which allowed for positive action projects to address the development of training for women in areas where they were under-represented and the third Medium Term Action Programme. (...) Its aim was to "entrench equality policies, and to promote women's full participation in economic and social life" (Cox 1993: 56). This is the first clear indication of a mainstreaming approach to EO, although the concept is under-operationalised in the documentation and most of the activities funded through programme could be still described as positive action ones. (...) The discourse of EO (in the 4th Medium Action Programme) is much more clearly based on the mainstreaming approach, although again it still funds positive action projects (Rees 1998: 19).

Thus, 'gender mainstreaming' has become one of the most important terms of the equal opportunities lexicon, since the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. In 1996, the EC adopted a Commission Communication that expresses EU's commitment to gender mainstreaming and define mainstreaming as

“incorporating equal opportunities for women and men into all Community policies and activities at all levels” (EC 1996b). This is followed by the adoption of Council Resolution (96/C 386/1) which is committed to mainstreaming of equal opportunities for men and women into the European Structural Funds in the same year. The General Regulations for Structural Funds (2000-2006) maintained that gender mainstreaming is an obligation. This commitment to gender mainstreaming was also the result of the decisions made in the Essen Summit in 1994 which define women as one of the “groups particularly hard hit by unemployment”.

Since the Essen Summit of 1994, promoting equal opportunities for women and men has been identified as a ‘paramount task’ of the EU in the area of economic planning and policy. 1998 Employment Guidelines adopted by the Council in December 1997 placed the equal opportunities issue in the heart of European Employment Strategy. The four pillars of the strategy are pointed as employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability and equal opportunities. Similarly, the 1999 Employment Guidelines maintained equal opportunities as a specific pillar and called explicitly for the first time on member states to mainstream equality in the first three pillars. Four main aspects that are focused in the guidelines regarding the equal opportunities are; the gender mainstreaming approach in employment, tackling the gender gaps in employment, reconciling work and family life and facilitating reintegration in the labour market.

With the Treaty of Amsterdam, the gender commitment and the gender mainstreaming process at the EU level was formalised. Article 3 of the Treaty commits the EU to gender mainstreaming in its all actions and policies. It reads: “in all the other activities referred to in this Article, The Community shall aim to eliminate inequalities and to promote equality, between men and women”.

The Gender Equality Framework Strategy (2001-2005) has been adopted by the Commission in 2000. In the Framework Strategy, it is noted that a new integrated approach, which aims at coordinating all different initiatives and programmes under a single umbrella, is being adopted by the Community. This approach indicates a shift in the Union’s equal opportunities perspective, which was previously manifested itself in the form of compartmental activities and programmes funded under different specific budget headings. Instead, “future Community work towards gender equality” said to “take the form of a comprehensive strategy, which will embrace all Community policies in its efforts to promote gender equality, either by adjusting their policies (pro-active intervention: gender mainstreaming) and/or by implementing concrete actions designed

to improve the situation of women in society (reactive intervention: specific actions)” (EC 2000b: 3).

Framework Strategy focuses on five areas of intervention: economic life, equal participation and representation, social rights, civic life, gender role and stereotypes. Under the heading of economic life, promotion of lifelong learning and women’s access to IT jobs are emphasised. Strengthening the partnership (cooperation with the social partners and NGOs) are the recurrent themes throughout the Framework Strategy document. It is important to note that the Amsterdam Treaty too assigns a major role to the European social dialogue and cooperation with the social partners. In the Framework Strategy document, under the heading of Social Rights, it is admitted:

(M)any women do not have equal access to social rights either because some of these rights are based on an outdated male breadwinner model or they do not take into account that women predominantly carry the burden of having to reconcile family and professional life. This is evident in many social protection systems, which in turn is one of the explanations of the feminisation poverty in the EU (career-breaks, part-time work, lack of education and training) (EC 2000b: 9).

And lastly, 5th Community Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women (2001-2005) has been adopted. The Programme is based on 13 objectives including the strengthening the gender dimension in the European Employment Strategy, improving the use of Structural Funds, improving the gender balance in decision-making, monitoring the community law and legislation, fighting gender related violence and trafficking in human beings. Improving the gender balance in the Commission was one of these 13 objectives, which may not be surprising considering that:

Since 1995, 25 per cent of the Members of the European Commission have been women. Of the Director-Generals in the Commission, 2.8 per cent are women. Until 1999, there was never a female judge in the ECJ. (...) Women’s representation in the European Parliament has increased steadily with each election since 1984. Yet, at 30.2 per cent, women continued to be under-represented in the European Parliament in the period 1999-2004 (EC 2000b: 22).

Throughout the document, gender mainstreaming is presented as a key concept. Rees (1998: 3) asserts on the EU level equal opportunities policies that:

The limitations of the legalistic approach towards securing equal treatment have been recognised and therefore complemented in the last decade by a series of positive action measures, known as the Medium Action Programmes on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women. (...) However, again, their impacts falls well short of the challenge of delivering equality, largely because they focus exclusively on aspects of women’s role in the labour market rather than taking a broader approach to human rights.

And she sees the mainstreaming approach as a way out from this deadlock position:

It is mainstreaming which is likely to have the most significant impact on developing women's skills and the rigidities of gender segregation in the labour market. It also has the capacity to move beyond gender into other dimension of equality, such as race and disability (Rees 1998: 4).

Another development in the 1990s was the admission of poverty and exclusion as key areas of priority by the EU. In the 1990s, the neoliberal precepts are not as strongly advocated as in the early 1980s. It is argued that neoliberal paradigm which promises "greater opportunity for larger numbers of people to make a decent living" produced very poor results in the social sphere in terms of quality of life and well-being (UNRISD 1993: 9). With the erosion of welfare states which aimed to provide minimum levels of living to all its citizens and with the globalisation of economy, poverty and unemployment reached to unbearable levels both in the developed and developing countries (UNRISD 1993). Second problem, which is also related with the erosion of corporatist welfare state that "created a society where 'everybody belonged' to some greater entity" (UNRISD 2000) and prevented social polarisation, is the problem of social integration.

In the context of neo-liberal experiment, social values of redistribution, equity and solidarity, which are the crucial sources of social integration, were eroded. The retrenchment of welfare state and the diminishing levels of social integration led to increasing problems of social conflict, social polarisation, mass alienation, distrust to official agencies and rise of violence (UNRISD 1993: 33). In the 30th anniversary conference of the UNDP, it is argued that "social development implies ...that they (people) live in equitable and just societies, that they are free to make choices in their personal lives and that they are able to carry out their daily activities free from fear of persecution or crime" (UNRISD 1993: 32).

Within that context, poverty and social exclusion are admitted to be priority issues for the discriminated social groups, and developing equal opportunities strategies and policies in the field of employment and it is argued that providing sustainable employment for the excluded groups and peoples is most crucial for combating poverty and social exclusion, and empowerment of discriminated groups, so for enabling harmony, inclusion, security, stability, cohesion in the society and for the development of democracy and basic rights (Howarth 1999).

In the European context, after its first appearance in an EC document in 1988 in the Second European Poverty Programme, “the issue of social exclusion has been high on the agenda of the EU” (Rees 1998: 174). Article 2 of the Treaty of Amsterdam was adopted by the European Council in June 1997 and came into force on 1 May 1999. The article provides that it will be the Community’s task to promote the harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, the raising standard of living and quality of life, a high level of employment and social protection and equality between men and women, as well as a high degree of convergence of economic performance and solidarity among member states. Articles 136 (ex Article 117) and Article 137 (ex Article 118) of the Treaty of Amsterdam establish combating social exclusion as a part of the area of action of the European Council.

Promoting social integration and fight against social exclusions are among the decisions of the European Council of Lisbon in 2000. These decisions are based on the strategic objective to make Europe before 2010, “the economy of the most competitive and dynamic knowledge of the world, capable of sustainable economic growth accompanied by an improvement, in quantity and quality, of employment and of a higher social cohesion” (Pena-Casas et al. 2002: 38). In September 2001, The Community Action Programme to Combat Poverty and Social Exclusion has been adopted by the Commission.

The 2000s: inclusion and intersectionality

The 2000s witnessed another shift in the EU’s equal opportunities approach towards inclusion of multiple equality strands within the legal framework. In terms of gender equality, multiplicity of forms of discrimination has been identified as a major concern. With the Treaty of Amsterdam, the use of anti-discrimination clause has been widened to cover different forms of discrimination, which signals the coming trend of developing the EU’s equal treatment and equal opportunities policy across all grounds of discrimination. The Treaty added a new Article 13 to the EC Treaty which complements Article 12 (ex Article 6) prohibiting discrimination on grounds of nationality. The Article 13 is the explicit statement on the adoption of the principle “to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion and belief, disability, age or sexual orientation”. These developments imply acceptance and adoption of an enhanced equal opportunities approach that is sought to have a positive impact on national and European level economics by providing an opportunity for sustainable livelihoods and overall rise in the quality of life, which is measured not only by economic indicators but also social indicators.

However, Young (2000: 88) notes that “this broad interpretation has been criticised on several grounds. Women’s groups rejected the linkage of sex discrimination to anti-discrimination concerning the minority groups. (...) Subsuming gender equity under the anti-discrimination rubric means that any recourse to alleviate gender inequality is tied only to incremental corrective measures”. On the other hand, Gertrud Wartenberg, President of the EWL, and Claudia Roth, MEP, criticise the new Treaty of Amsterdam and amendments to the Treaty of Rome by it, by pointing out the fact that equal rights and equal opportunities still remain restricted to workplace (Young 2000: 90).

However, it is also possible to read the ‘anti-discrimination’ commitment of the Treaty from a different angle, as a positive development regarding the realisation of the target of gender equality, considering the fact that gender discrimination in the field of employment, significantly varies in line with class, ethnicity, race, religious belief, age, disability and sexual orientation; and that the dynamics of direct and indirect discrimination differs with respect to each regional, national and local context. Hence, the new legal ground came into force with the Amsterdam Treaty, may well lead to the development by the EU and the Member States of policies and strategies responding to the diversity among women that would have stronger capacity of implementation in practice and generate wider and deeper impacts.

In the Council Decision (2000/750/EC) on adoption of the Community Action Programme to Combat Discrimination (2001-2006), it is put forward that “(i)n the implementation of the programme, the Community will seek, in accordance with the Treaty, to eliminate inequalities and to promote equality between men and women, particularly because women are often the victims of multiple discrimination” (EC 2000b: 23). Here, the use of the phrase ‘multiple discrimination’ is crucial because it opens up the possibility of conceptualisation of different and, even the hidden or silenced forms of discrimination women are subjected to due to their diverse positioning in the society. As noted by Rees (1998: 37) the EU’s equal opportunities policy has been dominated by positive action measures, which “facilitates some women in some areas, in particular well qualified, middle class women seeking to enter professions, without affecting the status quo for majority”. The ‘success’ of the middle class women that Rees mentioned, is largely due to the fact that they can afford to conform to the male norms and life style that tacitly shapes the culture of organisations. Hence, acceptance of diversity and different forms of discrimination, by revealing the differences both between men and women, and among women, may open up opportunities for the transformation of the very structures that (re)produces the inequalities.

In 2000, the EU issued the Council Directive (EC 2000a): Establishing a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation, requiring its member states to make necessary changes to their national legislations “for combating discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation” (EC 2000a: 3). It should be noted that the multiplication of the strands covered by the Union’s equal opportunities framework can be interpreted as an indication of a move towards diversity management approach at the EU level.

Conclusion

After half a century, long process of realising commitment to equal opportunities accompanied with important paradigm shifts, which indeed made it harder even to use the concept of ‘equality of opportunity’ without several cautions on what we mean, inequalities on grounds of sex continue to persist throughout Europe. Women are not integrated into the labour market as well as men. They generally have less regular and secure jobs and carry more of the burden of care for children and other dependants. In almost all member states, the unemployment rate remains systematically higher for women than for men and long-term unemployment hits women harder than men. The gender gap in employment rates is, on average, 20 per cent and women’s employment rates remain low in many Member States. The segregation of women and men in the labour market remains a major concern in the EU with highly segregated occupational structures. Data on horizontal segregation shows the dominance of women in caring professions (EC 2000b: 21).

Even the equal opportunities legislation’s initial goal of ‘equal pay’ has not been reached. According to the 1999 EUROSTAT data, women were paid less than men for the same work or for work of equal value. The pay gap has greater in the private sector (25 per cent) than in the public (nine per cent). Structural effects such as age, occupation and sector of activity failed to account for the gender wage gap (EC 2000b: 21). On average, women in the Union earn only 84 per cent of men’s wage (EC 2003: 19).

In terms of gender pay gap, women in the UK suffer from one of the widest gender pay gaps compared to their counterparts in the other EU member states. According to the long-awaited report of the Women and Work Commission, in 2005 gender pay gap between women and men working full time is 13 per cent in terms of median hourly pay

rates. Furthermore, women working part time earn just 59 per cent of the male median full-time hourly wage (Women and Work Commission 2006: 1-2).

In addition to direct pay discrimination, there are two other major reasons for the gender pay gap: occupational segregation and impact of family responsibilities. Olsen and Walby (2004) found that where women's work accounts for five per cent of the gender pay gap with women's employment being concentrated into occupations with high proportions of female workers (10 per cent) and in small and medium sized organisations (five per cent). Majority of female employment (60 per cent) in the UK is concentrated in ten out of seventy-seven occupations which are mostly low-paid private services occupations (Grimshaw and Rubery 2001). Thus, occupational segregation continues to persist in the UK with women dominating administrative and secretarial (80 per cent) and personal service jobs (84 per cent) and remaining a minority in professional work. In contrast, men continue to hold most skilled trades (92 per cent) and process, plant and machine operative jobs (85 per cent) (EOC 2004; Miller and Neathey 2004).

Further 36 per cent of the gender pay gap is associated with lifetime working patterns including women's shorter full-time employment experience (19 per cent) and longer part-time employment (three per cent), and more interruptions to their employment for children and family care in comparison to men's (14 per cent) (Olsen and Walby 2004). In the UK part-time work largely contributes to the gender pay gap, because unlike full-time work, which is associated with wage increases in line with the length of service, part-time work is associated with a slight wage reduction in real terms (Olsen and Walby, 2004). In 2004, 74 per cent of the women who worked part-time stated children and domestic family responsibilities as the main reasons for working part-time (Labour Force Survey 2005). Limited availability of flexible working arrangements and work-life policies in better paid jobs as well as insufficient maternity and paternal leave entitlement and limited childcare provisions, disadvantages women due to their disproportionately larger share in caring responsibilities. Resultantly, women are often locked in temporary or part-time jobs with limited job security and low pay (Olsen and Walby 2004; EOC 2005). Furthermore, 45 per cent of part-time female workers are employed in the jobs that under-utilise their skills (Darton and Hurrell, 2005; Green, 2005).

Labour market rigidities in terms of occupational segregation (both horizontal and vertical) and organisation of work contribute to gender pay gap not only through the gender inequality in basic pay rates, but also through reduced access to remuneration,

promotion, training and career advancement opportunities. Due to unequal distribution of family and care between men and women, female workers are more likely to have part-time working contracts compared to male workers. Part-time working in the UK is not only associated with relatively lower status jobs in comparison to full-time working, but also part-time workers are marginalised and disadvantaged in their organisations in terms of having reduced entitlement to a range of benefits such as unsocial hours premia, pension contributions performance related pay and bonuses, having fewer prospects for career advancement and limited access to training and career advancement opportunities (Grimshaw and Rubery 2001; Neathey et al. 2003).

Furthermore, payment of bonuses and performance related pay as well as training opportunities tend to be uncommon in occupations where women's employment is concentrated. Similarly, glass ceiling continues to persist as an invisible barrier to progress of women into senior posts in their organisations. According to the findings of Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (2005) only a third of managers and senior officials are female and even then, women are employed in lower paid branches of management such as personnel and marketing management, compared to their male counterparts who tend to be employed as senior managers and senior officials. This situation supports Olsen and Walby's (2004) refutation of the simplistic assumption that relates the gender pay gap to lower levels of human capital (experience, skills and qualifications) held by women. Moreover, female workers are disadvantaged even in the processes by which human capital is acquired due to occupational segregation and the impact of family responsibilities (Olsen and Walby 2004). Three decades after the introduction of the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA) and the Equal Pay Act (EPA) in 1975, gender pay gap has remained wide in the UK, and the persisting gendered occupational segregation and organisation of work life around the male norms and life patterns continue to hinder the achievement of equality of opportunity in the field of employment.

In conclusion, the promise of equal opportunities in the field of employment waits to be fulfilled considering the persisting structures of inequality and segregation across the EU member states. At the point reached, the EU has developed an approach to equal opportunities, which is wider and more transformative in scope. It has adopted mainstreaming approach which necessitates qualitative as well as quantitative, improvement in the position of women, and transformation of 'gender contracts'. The Union now takes different forms of discrimination and diversity, and various areas of inequality into account, including the field of employment.

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Appendix II: Original draft interview schedule for the interviews intended to be conducted with Ford employees

Background questions:

1. Age:
2. Sex:
3. Nationality:
4. Ethnicity:
5. Race:
6. Disability:
7. Place of birth:
8. Profession:

Family (*Different forms of capital, Bourdieu 1977, 1986, 1990, 1991*)

9. Profession of your mother: Current (or last) job of your mother:
10. Profession of your father: Current job (or last) of your father:
11. Average income of your parents:
12. What are the professions and jobs of your sisters and brothers?
13. Marital status:
14. Number and age of child(ren):
15. Where are you living? Why did you choose this district?
16. Are you sharing the house with other people (with whom)?
(if yes)
17. Could you please tell me some about the division of labour at home and how much time do you spend daily for the household tasks (and caring responsibilities)?
(If cohabiting with a partner or married)
18. Profession of your partner/spouse:
Current (or last) job of your partner/spouse:
Income of your partner/spouse:

Everyday life (*Social capital, Bourdieu 1977, 1986, 1990, 1991*)

19. What would you say on your social and cultural life?
20. What would you say on your interest/involvement in political?
21. Are you a member of any voluntary groups/non-governmental organisations?
22. Who are in your closer friends groups?

Education and Training (*cultural capital, Bourdieu 1977, 1986, 1990, 1991*)

23. Could you please tell me about your education (the degrees you hold and the institution from which you have received them)?
24. Have you received any job related training at work? Could you please describe more?

Employment story / Career (*Career as an experience, Layder 1993+ ascribed attributes vs career, Muller 1973; Blau 1994*)

25. Could you please tell me about your previous employment experience? (previous jobs/positions, years of work, reasons for leave, source of information about employment opportunities, channels of recruitment)
26. What were the main impacts on your career?
27. Current job (position/name and place of the organisation):
28. Average income:

29. On average, how many hours are you working daily?
30. What is the gender/ethnic/age group of the: Employer, employees working in a similar position with you, manager etc?
31. Do workers from some (gender/ethnicity/age etc.) groups receive better pay or amenities for doing the same type of jobs as you are doing?
32. Do you consider yourself belonging to a specific (gender/ethnicity etc) group?
33. Do you feel that you are being perceived as belonging to a specific group by the others at work? If yes, does it have any impact on your work and career experiences?
34. Would your career path be different if you were belonged to another ethnic, gender etc. group? How, why?
35. Do you consider yourself successful at work? Why, how?
36. In your current job, did you apply for promotion or get promoted?
37. What are your plans about your future employment and career?
38. Would you please tell me if you want to add more about your current employment experience (such as difficulties, advantages and disadvantages you experienced so far)?

Organisational climate (Chatman et al. 1998; Knouse and Dansby 2000; Cox 1993)

39. How would you define the organisational climate/culture in your workplace regarding the issues of inclusion/exclusion, discrimination/equality, and flexibility/rigidity?
40. How do you evaluate your company's policy of providing recruitment/training/promotion opportunities to different gender/age/ethnicity etc. groups?
41. Could you please tell me some about your relationships with your colleagues and superiors at work?
42. Do you find it difficult to (or experience problems to) communicate and work with the colleagues from gender/ethnicity/age groups different than yours? Why, how?
43. How do you feel yourself (belonged to the company or as an 'outsider')? Why do you feel so?
44. What would you say about your level of satisfaction at work? Why?
45. Do you feel that you have a say while important decisions about your work are being made? Why?
46. Do you feel creative and productive at work? Why?
47. Do you think that you are able to realise your potential and use your skills fully in your job? Why?
48. How could your work conditions and organisational climate be improved to make you feel more productive, creative satisfied and belonged?
49. Which priorities and needs would you mention if your organisation would be transformed towards a more flexible and employee-friendly structure?

Diversity management or EEO policy (Employee attitude towards DM, Kirby and Rochard 2000; Liff 1996)

50. Are you informed about your organisation's EEO or DM policy? Could you please shortly tell about it?
51. Who do you think is the target of the EEO and DM programmes?
52. Did you participate in any of programmes or activities within the scope of EEO or DM program? What was the nature of it? Who were the participants? How did you find it?
53. How would you evaluate the impact of EEO and DM programmes on the organisational climate?
54. What is the impact of your company's EEO or DM policy on you?

55. Do you feel convinced about the necessity of EEO or DM programmes? Why?
56. According to you what are the positive and negative aspects of such kind of EEO or DM programmes?
57. Is there any other thing that you want to add?

Appendix III: Semi-structured interview schedule

Explanation:

The aim of this research is to investigate organisational diversity management policies and practices, and diversity managers' role. Diversity managers will be interviewed about their experiences and opinions regarding structures and resources for diversity management in their organisations. I will ask you questions under six headings: you and your organisation; diversity and equality in your organisation; mainstreaming and involvement; monitoring; appraisal, recruitment and training. No individual names will be revealed and they will be kept strictly confidential.

You and your organisation:

(Acker 2000; Collinson et al.; Gilbert and Ivancevich 2000; Lawrence 2000)

1. What is your responsibility or job role in relation to diversity and management in this organisation?

Probe: Are you promoted to this position?

Probe: If yes, what was your previous job role?

Probe: How many years (approximately) have you been in your current role?

2. How do you fit in the organisational structure?

Probe: What are you responsible for?

Probe: To whom you are reporting?

Probe: Who are reporting to you?

Probe: Do you have open access to the CEO of your company?

Probe: Do you sit in on strategy meetings?

Diversity and Equality in Your Organisation

(Cockburn 1989; Cox and Blake 1991; Dobbs 1996; Muir 1996; Jewson and Mason 1986; Lawrence 2000; Liff 1996)

3. How did your organisation reach to its current position in diversity and equality?

Probe: Who did first propose the idea of diversity management?

Probe: Initially, what measures were parts of your diversity strategy?

Probe: How did the scope of the effort expand over time? What precipitated these changes?

Probe: Who were the key people in different stages of this process?

4. Could you describe your organisation's current diversity structure to me?

Probe: Does your organisation have someone or a specialised office whose main responsibility is managing diversity?

Probe: If yes, to what extent does this person have power and prestige within the organisation?

Probe: How do you relate equal opportunities issues to diversity management strategies?

5. What are the specific facilities for certain group of employees?

Probe: Accessibility for the disabled, complaining mechanism for the cases of discrimination and harassment, child care facilities, training, mentoring, career development programmes, flexible hours and work schedules etc.?

6. What are the activities/initiatives/programmes that are implemented in order to reach diversity goals?

Probe: Who are in the target groups of the diversity activities? (In other words who attends them?)

7. Which initiatives do you consider more successful?

Probe: Why?

Probe: Which initiatives have been met with opposition/resistance?

Probe: Why?

8. In promoting diversity do you use different messages for different groups of employees?

Probe: What is the most pronounced/welcomed justification for the diversity policies in the organisation?

Probe: What types of justifications for the strategic imperative of managing diversity tend to be accepted by top management?

9. Who in the company was/is the most avid champion of diversity?

Probe: Most opposed?

10 How would you describe the impact of diversity management policies and practices on organisational culture?

Probe: How do you think diversity efforts have initiated a process of organisational change?

Mainstreaming and involvement:

(Bradley et al. 2004; DiTomaso and Hooijberg 1996; Healy et al. 2004a; Kirton and Greene 2000; Mighty 1991; Parker 1999)

11. How do diversity management policies or initiatives relate to the overall corporate objectives and strategies?

Probe: In mission statements, strategy planning, across different functions in the organisation?

12. Literature suggests that it is difficult to involve line managers in diversity efforts. How do you get them to actively contribute to and take responsibility about the diversity efforts?

Probe: Are they well informed and conscious about diversity management policy?

Probe: What does your organisation do to ensure they have the skills necessary to manage diverse employees effectively?

Probe: Are they held accountable for their diversity efforts? How?

13. How do you get senior managers to actively contribute to and take responsibility about the diversity efforts?

Probe: How are they informed and made conscious about diversity management policy?

Probe: Are they held accountable for their diversity efforts? How?

Probe: How would you define top management's attitude towards diversity?

14. How are the employees involved in the design and implementation of diversity policies and practices?

Probe: How are the employee responses included in the decisions to optimise diversity policies?

15. How are the trade unions involved in the diversity management process in your organisation?

Probe: What is the role of trade unions?

Probe: Are they supportive of your organisation's diversity management activities?

Probe: Could you give me some examples of trade union involvement in diversity management?

16. What would you say on the different groups of employees' reactions to diversity programmes?

Probe: Are some groups of employees predictably more receptive to diversity efforts than others?

Probe: Opponents?

Probe: How do you evaluate the impact of diversity management policies and practices on employees' equal opportunities attitudes and behaviours?

Monitoring:

(Ancona and Caldwell 1992; Bantel and Jackson 1989; Bhadury et al. 2000; Chevrier 2003; Cordero et al. 1997; Cox 1991, 1993; Fernandez 1991; Milliken and Martins 1996; Morrison 1992; Nemetz and Christensen 1996; O'Reilly et al. 1989; Thomas and Ely 2002; Tsui et al. 1992; Wharton and Baron 1987)

17. How are diversity initiatives evaluated/monitored?

Probe: by whom, measures, how often, and to whom are the results of these monitoring activities reported?

18. Do you have employee attitude surveys to monitor the impact of diversity efforts?

Probe: Could you please explain the coverage of them?

Probe: Can I have a copy of the survey form?

Probe: Can I have copy of the reports on the results of the surveys?

19. What are the benefits of workforce diversity?

Probe: Up to now, what benefits are derived from the diversity program?

Probe: How would you evaluate the impacts of diversity management policies on;

- Employees' level of commitment and belongingness; perceptions of fairness/justice
- Employees' performance and satisfaction
- Communication and interaction between employees from diverse backgrounds
- Organisational performance, creativity/innovation, problem solving and decision making
- Cost of labour turnover, absenteeism, recruitment, discrimination lawsuits
- Business success with regard to market penetration, diversification of customer base and level of customer satisfaction

Probe: How do you measure impact of diversity policies on these areas?

Probe: Can I have a copy of the reports on these?

20. Up to now, what are the costs associated with diversity management?

Probe: What kind of unforeseen costs are brought by diversity policies?

Probe: What kind of problems did you encountered during your diversity efforts?

21. What is the customer base of the organisation (diversity of customer base?)

22. How common are the incidents of sexual and ethnic harassment in your organisation?

Probe: Are they frequently reported?

Probe: Are there perceived repercussions for reporting such incidents? What are they?

Probe: To what extent is harassment tolerated?

Appraisal, recruitment and training:

(Agocs and Burr 1996; Burrett 2002; Fine 2003; Kirton and Greene 2000; Knouse and Dansby 2000; Woods and Sciarini 1995)

23. What is the proportion of women, racial and ethnic minorities, gay men and lesbians and people with disabilities within the workforce?

Probe: Within senior management?

Probe: Can I have a copy of employee statistics?

Probe: What is the role of diversity management efforts on these figures?

24. Are there targeted recruitment efforts?

Probe: What are they? (contacting the minority alumni associations, advertising jobs in minority or women's publications)

25. Are hiring, promotion and compensation practices monitored with respect to their conformity with equal opportunities principle?

Probe: What are the mechanisms for monitoring?

26. How are performance appraisals related to diversity effort?

27. Does your organisation offer diversity awareness trainings?

Probe: Are they mandatory?

Probe: How is their effectiveness evaluated?

Probe: What is the focus of these trainings?

Probe: Who receives them?

Probe Can I have a copy of training guidelines?

Future

(Agocs 1997; Cockburn 1991; Elmes and Connelley 1997; Itzin 1995a; Meyerson 2001a, 2001b; Meyerson and Scully 1995; Newman 1995)

28. In summary, how would you define the current state of your organisation with regard to embracing diversity and supporting equality?

29. How would you define your role and responsibility in reaching the diversity and equality goals in the organisation and as change agents?

Probe: Are they given the necessary tools and resources for reaching these goals?

Probe: What resources are available for diversity management programmes and initiatives?

Probe: What kind of problems/challenges did you yourself encountered during your diversity efforts?

30. How do you ensure the sustainability of your diversity programmes?

31. How do you plan to modify the diversity programme in the future?

32. Considering your experience what would be your recommendations to others in the field?

Personal Details:

(Agocs 1997; Lawrence 2000; Meyerson 2001a, 2001b; Meyerson and Scully 1995; Parker 1999)

33. What are your educational qualifications?

Probe: How does your education contribute to the needs of your current job?

34. What is your functional background/training?

Probe: How does your functional background/training contribute to the needs of your current job?

35. Did you have any specific training on diversity management? Could you explain some?

36. How does your previous employment experience contribute to the needs of your current job?

37. In summary, how did you gain the expertise required for your current role in diversity management?

38. Age:

39 Ethnicity:

40. Nationality:

41. Do you have disability?

Probe: What is it?

42. How do you think your demographic background i.e. gender/race/ethnicity affected your career progression?

Probe: Did it have any impact on your decision to pursue your career in diversity/equality field? How?

Probe: Did it have any impact on your understanding of diversity/equality field?

43. Are you a member of any voluntary groups/non-governmental organisations? Could you explain some?

44. What would you say on your interest/involvement in politics?

45. Are you a member of any networks or groups on diversity/equality? Could you explain some?

Probe: In your organisation?

Probe: Outside your organisation?

46. Do you have regular contact with the other institutions/companies who are implementing diversity policies and programmes? Could you explain some?

47. Could you please tell me any additional comments you feel are relevant to our understanding of diversity management strategy of your organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and support.

Appendix IV: Introductory for the diversity managers of large organisations

Dear colleague

CIPD diversity case study research

You may remember that a while ago I mentioned to you that the Institute is carrying out a raft of different research on diversity and producing publications to profile good practice to help employers take action to make progress.

We would be delighted to have a contribution about the way your organisation has approached this challenging issue – why you have done it, what you have learnt and what the benefits have been. We have commissioned researchers to talk to organisations and to write up case study material for us, which we will then publish.

The researcher is Ms Ahu Tatli from Queen Mary, University of London. Her email address is a.tatli@qmul.ac.uk and her telephone number is 01483 449 445.

We would be grateful if you could confirm that you would be happy to talk to Ahu. She will call you at a time that is convenient to you and will agree the content of the material with you.

We look forward to receiving your contribution. This would be an ideal opportunity for you to be able to share your experiences and to profile your achievements and successes with organisations that are striving to reach the level that you have attained.

Thank you for your help and support

Yours sincerely

Dianah Worman
Adviser, Diversity

You might be interested to know that we have recently published material available to download free from our website at: <http://www.cipd.co.uk/subjects/dvsequl/>

CIPD

**Diversity Management
Survey: State of Nation**

2006

All responses will be treated in confidence

Section 1: You and your organisation

1 Please indicate where staff in your organisation are located by ticking all locations that apply.

Whole UK	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	London	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	South East	<input type="checkbox"/> 03
North-east	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	Yorkshire and Humberside	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	South West	<input type="checkbox"/> 06
North-west	<input type="checkbox"/> 07	East	<input type="checkbox"/> 08	Scotland	<input type="checkbox"/> 09
Midlands	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	Northern Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/> 12
		Wales	<input type="checkbox"/> 13		

2 In which industry sector does your organisation operate? Please tick one box only.

Manufacturing and production		Private sector services	
Agriculture and forestry	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	Professional services	<input type="checkbox"/> 12
Electricity, gas and water	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	Finance, insurance and real estate	<input type="checkbox"/> 13
Engineering, electronics and metals	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	Hotels, catering and leisure	<input type="checkbox"/> 14
General manufacturing	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	IT services	<input type="checkbox"/> 15
Textiles	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	Call centres	<input type="checkbox"/> 16
Chemicals, pharmaceuticals and oil	<input type="checkbox"/> 06	Media and publishing	<input type="checkbox"/> 17
Mining and quarrying	<input type="checkbox"/> 07	Retail and wholesale	<input type="checkbox"/> 18
Construction	<input type="checkbox"/> 08	Transport and storage	<input type="checkbox"/> 19
Food, drink and tobacco	<input type="checkbox"/> 09	Communications	<input type="checkbox"/> 20
Paper and printing	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	Other private services	<input type="checkbox"/> 21
Other manufacturing/production	<input type="checkbox"/> 11		
Voluntary, community and not-for-profit		Public Services	
Housing association	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	Local government (including police/fire)	<input type="checkbox"/> 26
Charity services	<input type="checkbox"/> 23	Central government (including defence)	<input type="checkbox"/> 27
Care services	<input type="checkbox"/> 24	Education	<input type="checkbox"/> 28
Other voluntary	<input type="checkbox"/> 25	Health	<input type="checkbox"/> 29
		Other public services	<input type="checkbox"/> 30

3 How many people are in your organisation?

250 or less	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	251-500	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	501-1000	<input type="checkbox"/> 03
1,001-5,000	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	5,001-10,000	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	+10,000	<input type="checkbox"/> 06

4 An objective of this survey is to explore the business case for diversity and to assess the relationship of good diversity practice and business performance. To help us do this it would be helpful for you to give us the name of your organisation.

Section 2: You and your diversity role

This section of the survey aims to help us understand the role of people who manage diversity in organisations and their feelings and opinions about their roles.

5 Are you in the HR/personnel management team/function? Yes ☐ 01 No ☐ 02

6 At what level is your current role in the organisation?

Board member	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	Senior management	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	Middle management	<input type="checkbox"/> 03
Supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	Junior staff	<input type="checkbox"/> 05		

7 What type of contract do you have?

Permanent	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	Fixed-Term	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	Temporary	<input type="checkbox"/> 03
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8 How many hours are you contracted to work?

Under 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	10-20	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	21-30	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	31-35	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	Over 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
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9 How many hours a week are you contracted to work on diversity management?

0	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	1-9	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	10-20	<input type="checkbox"/> 03
21-30	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	31-35	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	Over 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 06

10 Which of the following bands does your annual salary fall into? (full-time equivalent)

£0 - £20,000	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	£21,000 - £30,000	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	£31,000 - £40,000	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³
£41,000 - £50,000	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	£51,000 - £80,000	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	£80,000 +	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁶

11 How long have you worked for your current organisation?

Up to 1 year ☐⁰¹ 1-2 yrs ☐⁰² 3-5 yrs ☐⁰³ 6-10 yrs ☐⁰⁴ +10 yrs ☐⁰⁵

12 How long (approximately) have you been responsible for diversity in your current role?

Up to 1 year ☐⁰¹ 1-2 yrs ☐⁰² 3-5 yrs ☐⁰³ 6-10 yrs ☐⁰⁴ +10 yrs ☐⁰⁵

13 Were you recruited to your current role from within the organisation? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²

14 Which of the following areas of expertise do you have?

Specific training on equal opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹
General management training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Human resource management training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³
Financial management training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴
Marketing management training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵
Engineering and production management training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁶
Employment/discrimination law training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁷
Specific training on diversity management	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁸
Other professional training: please specify	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁹

15 How have your responsibilities and resources changed in relation to managing diversity in your current role? Please select all that apply

increase in scope of tasks undertaken	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹
increase in number of people I supervise	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
decrease in scope of tasks undertaken	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³
decrease in number of people I supervise	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴
No change	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵

16 Do people report directly to you? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²

17 How many people work with you in diversity?

1-3 ☐⁰¹ 4-8 ☐⁰² 9-15 ☐⁰³ 16-20 ☐⁰⁴ +21 ☐⁰⁵

18 To what extent do you agree with the following statements in connection with your current diversity role?

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree			
a. I do this job for the money	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
b. I want to continue my career in the diversity field	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
c. I identify with the organisation's overall goals	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
d. I rely on internal networks for my diversity work	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
e. I rely on external networks for my diversity work	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
f. My long term future lies with this organisation	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			
g. I believe in equality and diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵			

19 How satisfied are you with the following? Please tick ONE box only for each statement:

	Extremely Dissatisfied			Extremely Satisfied		
a. Attitude of your colleagues about diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
b. The level of responsibility you are given on diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
c. Attitude of line managers about diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
d. The recognition you get for your diversity work	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
e. Your chance of promotion	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
f. Your rate of pay	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	
g. Personal effort you have to make to drive diversity progress	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	

20 How important are the following to you in connection with your current diversity role?

	Not Important		Very Important		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
a. Reward – pay, conditions and benefits.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
b. Recognition – things that make you feel valued (non-financial).....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
c. Fairness – feeling that organisational decisions are made fairly and consistently	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
d. Training – feeling sufficiently trained for your job	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
e. Flexibility – feeling that you have sufficient opportunity for career development	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
f. Employee relations: feeling that you know the names and faces of senior staff and could approach them easily	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
h. Support – feeling that you receive sufficient support in performing your diversity duties	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
h. Communication – feeling you are kept informed of what is going on in your organisation.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
i. Autonomy – feeling trusted to perform your job and use your expertise.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
j. Equality – feeling that you have been treated fairly during your employment with the organisation	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
k. Diversity – feeling that it's OK to be different in your workplace environment	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05
l. Discretion – feeling that you have enough scope and freedom to do your job	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05

Section 3: Work culture in your current organisation

Organisational culture has an important impact on successful diversity management. This section aims to help us understand the work culture in your organisation.

21 To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
a. Managers are equipped with adequate skills for dealing with diversity and equality issues.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. Flexible working is encouraged in this organisation	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. Management behaviour always reflects organisational values and priorities	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. Colleagues listen to and respect each other	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
e. I always feel under pressure to get my work done.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
f. Formal and informal networks in my organisation enable diverse people to talk to each other	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

22 To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
a. We always consult our customers.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. I always feel comfortable about networking with different groups of people in my organisation	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. My organisation is always prepared to make adjustments to people's different work-life balance needs	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. In my organisation all employees are prepared to ask for different work-life arrangements that they need	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
e. In my organisation there are many opportunities to develop new skills at all levels	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

23 To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
a. Information on career development is offered to all employees.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. In my organisation people are encouraged to develop their skills.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. All vacant posts within my organisation are advertised internally	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. All vacant posts within my organisation are advertised externally.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
e. Jobs tend to be given to people 'in the know'.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
f. There are plenty of opportunities for progression within my organisation.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
g. There is good communication about internal job opportunities in my organisation.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
h. My organisation sets out to encourage all employees to reach their full potential	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

24 Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

My colleagues think that...

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
a. an employee's religion shouldn't stop them from being promoted.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. employees should be promoted fairly	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. employees' sexuality shouldn't stop them from being promoted	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. employees' ethnicity shouldn't stop them from being promoted	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
e. employees' age shouldn't stop them from being promoted	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
f. employees' disability shouldn't stop them from being promoted	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
g. employees' weight shouldn't stop them from being promoted	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

25 Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

In my current organisation ...

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
a. employment practice is informed by a commitment to equality for all	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. the workforce reflects the diversity of the local population.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. senior management encourage diversity.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. people are not afraid to be open about their sexuality	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

26 Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

My current organisation ...

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
a. encourages equal numbers of men and women in all management positions	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
b. aims to make sure that diversity and equality are at the heart of everything it does.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
c. values diversity as a way to deliver better services	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
d. actively supports its suppliers, subsidiaries and affiliates regarding equality and diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
e. recognises that it's important to respond to individual needs	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
f. consults with its customers and clients to identify diverse needs about goods and services.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
g. encourages the career progression of both men and women	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
h. encourages the career progression of lesbians and gay men.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
i. encourages the career progression of people of all ages.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
j. encourages the career progression of people with disabilities.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
k. encourages the career progression of people of different religions	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	

Section 4: The diversity function in your current organisation

This section aims to help us understand the formal diversity structure in your organisation.

27 Which of the following applies when considering the term used predominantly in your organisation?

equality ☐ 01 diversity ☐ 02 both interchangeably ☐ 03

- 28 a) Does your organisation have a written diversity management or equal opportunities policy statement? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²
- b) If yes, does spell out the consequences of breaching the policy? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²
- c) Does your organisation have an international diversity policy? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²
- d) If yes, how does it differ in content and approach from your domestic policy? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰² Not applicable ☐⁰³
- 29 Is there a specialised diversity/equal opportunities function in your organisation?
 Yes ☐⁰¹ Since which year?
 How many people work in it?
 No ☐⁰² Is there a plan to open an office in the future? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰² Don't know ☐⁰³
 No longer ☐⁰³ It was mainstreamed in year
- 30 How much influence does the diversity function have within your organisation?
- No influence ☐⁰¹ ☐⁰² ☐⁰³ ☐⁰⁴ High influence ☐⁰⁵ Not applicable ☐⁰³
- 31 Does your organisation have someone whose main responsibility is managing diversity/equal employee opportunities? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²
- 32 How much authority does the most senior person in the diversity function have over others in the organisation?
- No power ☐⁰¹ ☐⁰² ☐⁰³ ☐⁰⁴ Extreme power ☐⁰⁵ Not applicable ☐⁰³
- 33 Are work-life balance issues part of the work in your diversity function?
 Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰² Not applicable ☐⁰³
- 34 Does someone in your diversity team report regularly to the board of your company on diversity? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰² Not applicable ☐⁰³
- 35 Does your organisation have a budget for diversity? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²

Section 5: Diversity strategy in your current organisation

- 36 Does your organisation have a diversity strategy?
 Yes ☐⁰¹ Since year
 Is it integrated to business strategy? Yes ☐⁰¹ No ☐⁰²
 No ☐⁰² Please go to the Section 6
- 37 Has the scope of the diversity strategy change over time?
 It has not changed ☐⁰¹ It has expanded ☐⁰² It has narrowed ☐⁰³
- 38 Which of the following diversity activities does your organisation have?
 Please select all that apply
- | | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------|--|
| Diversity as performance criteria | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹ | Setting diversity objectives | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰² |
| Workforce monitoring and targeting system | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³ | Awareness training | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴ |
| Diversity training for managers | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵ | Setting diversity quotas | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁶ |
| Reward and recognition for diversity achievements | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁷ | Employee attitude surveys | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁸ |
| Building diversity into business goals | <input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁹ | Work-life balance system | <input type="checkbox"/> ¹⁰ |
| Monitoring customer profile | <input type="checkbox"/> ¹¹ | Other: please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> ¹² |

- 39 Which of the following are the most influential ways of communicating diversity in your organisation? Please select THREE
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Company newsletters | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 | Internal company communications | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 |
| Posters and leaflets | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 | Speeches by top management | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 |
| Internet / intranet | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 | Internal company communications | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| Focus groups | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 | Internal company TV Channel | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 |
| Events | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 | Personnel and team brief meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| Training | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 | Informal conversations | <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Employee surveys | <input type="checkbox"/> 13 | Other: please write | <input type="checkbox"/> 14 |

- 40 What are the drivers for diversity in your organisation?
Please select all that apply. Rank the top 5 from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important.
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Legal pressures | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 | To improve business performance | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 |
| Corporate social responsibility | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 | To respond to the global market | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 |
| To address recruitment problems | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 | To recruit and retain best talent | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| Because it makes business sense | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 | To respond to the competition in the market | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 |
| To be an employer of choice | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 | Desire to improve customer relations | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| Belief in social justice | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 | To improve creativity and innovation | <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Desire to reach diverse markets | <input type="checkbox"/> 13 | To improve products and services | <input type="checkbox"/> 14 |
| Because it is morally right | <input type="checkbox"/> 15 | To enhance decision-making | <input type="checkbox"/> 16 |
| Trade union activities | <input type="checkbox"/> 17 | To improve corporate branding | |
| Other: please specify ... | | | |

Section 6: Diversity policy in your current organisation

- 41 Do you have a diversity policy in your organisation?
- Yes ☐ 01 Since year
- No ☐ 02 When was the policy last reviewed? Please write
Please go to the section 7
- 42 Which of the following categories does your diversity policy cover?
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social and economic background | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 | Disability | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 | Physical appearance | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 |
| Criminal conviction | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 | Nationality | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 | Ethnicity/race | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| Marital status | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 | Religion | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 | Sexual orientation | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 |
| Parental status | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 | Gender/sex | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 | All forms of difference | <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Trade union membership | <input type="checkbox"/> 13 | Age | <input type="checkbox"/> 14 | Political ideology | <input type="checkbox"/> 15 |
| Accent | <input type="checkbox"/> 16 | Stress | <input type="checkbox"/> 17 | Mental health | <input type="checkbox"/> 18 |
| Weight | <input type="checkbox"/> 19 | Postcode | <input type="checkbox"/> 20 | Other: please write | <input type="checkbox"/> 21 |
- 43 Do you involve employees in the design and implementation of diversity policies and practices?
- Yes ☐ 01 No ☐ 02 Not applicable ☐ 03
- 44 In what ways do you involve them? Please select all that apply.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Work-council consultation | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 | Focus groups | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 | Employee representation on boards | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 |
| Networking/affinity groups | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 | Meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 | Trade union consultation | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| Feedback from employees | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 | Other: specify | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 | Employees are not directly involved | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 |
- 45 What actions are taken in order to maximise employee engagement in diversity policies?
- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Employee involvement in community action programmes | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 |
| Communicating diversity message and policy across the organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 |
| Training and education activities in diversity management | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 |
| Diversity objectives integrated in performance and strategic management systems | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 |
| No action taken | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 |
| Other: please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
- 46 How often are diversity management policies or initiatives related to overall corporate objectives and strategies?
- Always ☐ 01 Sometimes ☐ 02 Never ☐ 03

Section 7: Diversity activities in your current organisation

47 Have provisions been made for the following?

	Yes	No
Harassment and bullying policy	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Disability access	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Childcare	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Diversity as part of the organisation's mission	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Career development programme	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Flexible hours	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Job sharing	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Practical equality and diversity training	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Maternity provision	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Paternity provision	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Fair performance management system	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Targeted recruitment and retention to create a balanced workforce	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Corporate social responsibility	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Work-life balance programme	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Mentoring programmes	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Inclusion of diversity-related goals in managers' performance assessments	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Objective-setting	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Balanced scorecard	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Applying diversity standards	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Equal pay audit	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02
Others: please specify ...	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	<input type="checkbox"/> 02

Section 8: Diversity monitoring in your current organisation

48 Does your organisation collect monitoring information? Yes ☐ 01 No ☐ 02

49 Which of the following are monitored?
Staff profiles ☐ 01 Customer profiles ☐ 02 Other: please specify..... ☐ 04

50 For which of the following categories do you monitor the diversity of your customer profile and staff profile? Please select all that apply

	Customer profile		Staff profile	
Ethnicity/race	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Sexual orientation	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Age	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Disability	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Social and economic background	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Nationality	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Religion	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Gender/sex	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Physical appearance	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Criminal conviction	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Marital/parental status	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Parental status	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Postcode	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Weight	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Mental health	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02
Political ideology	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 01	No <input type="checkbox"/> 02

51 Approximately, what percentage of workers in the following categories are represented in your organisation? Please indicate:

	Organisation as a whole	Managerial grades	Board of directors
Female workers			
Non-white workers			
Workers with disabilities			

52 Is your organisation age-diverse? Yes ☐ ⁰¹ No ☐ ⁰² Don't know ☐ ⁰³

53 What is the majority age profile that your organisation employs?

Young ☐ ⁰¹ Middle-aged ☐ ⁰² Old ☐ ⁰¹ Balanced ☐ ⁰² Don't know ☐ ⁰³

54 Does your organisation monitor the following?

	Yes	No
Selection rates of under-represented groups	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Employee beliefs about the fairness of organisational policies	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Pay decisions to ensure fairness for all	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Promotions to ensure fairness for all	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Incidents of harassment and bullying	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Others: please specify ...	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²

55 Does your organisation use monitoring information in connection with the following?

	Yes	No
Harassment and bullying	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Grievance	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Type of contract	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Training	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Pay	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Promotion	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Organisational level	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Performance	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Turnover rates	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Recruitment	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Others: please specify ...	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²

56 Does your organisation attempt to measure the impact of diversity management initiatives?

Yes ☐ ⁰¹ No ☐ ⁰² We are investigating the option ☐ ⁰²

57 Which of the following measures do you use to monitor diversity in your organisation?

Level of employee commitment	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰¹	Improvements to problem-solving and decision-making	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰²
Absenteeism	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰³	Labour turnover	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁴
Impact assessment	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁵	Psychological contract issues	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁶
Balanced scorecards	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁷	Level of customer satisfaction	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁸
Business performance	<input type="checkbox"/> ⁰⁹	Diversification of customer base	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹⁰
Employee attitude surveys	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹¹	Employee performance appraisals	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹²
Number of tribunal cases	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹³	Number of complaints and grievances	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹⁴
Ability to recruit	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹⁵	Other: please specify	<input type="checkbox"/> ¹⁶

Section 9: Your evaluation of diversity management in your current organisation

58 What was the degree of overall organisational resistance and support to the below diversity activities?

		Strong Resistance			Strong Support	
1	diversity management strategy	1	2	3	4	5
2	diversity management policies	1	2	3	4	5
3	diversity management initiatives	1	2	3	4	5
4	diversity management training	1	2	3	4	5
5	diversity awareness training	1	2	3	4	5
6	diversity monitoring activity	1	2	3	4	5

59 On balance, what are the general attitudes and behaviours about diversity at different levels within your workplace?

		Oppositional			Supportive	
1	Organisation as a whole	1	2	3	4	5
2	Board members	1	2	3	4	5
3	Senior management	1	2	3	4	5
4	Middle management	1	2	3	4	5
5	Junior management	1	2	3	4	5
6	Non-managerial staff	1	2	3	4	5
7	Trade union representatives	1	2	3	4	5

60 How much personal ownership do people at the following levels assume in diversity related activities and issues? Please tick the box that applies:

		No ownership			Total ownership	
1	Board members	1	2	3	4	5
2	Senior management	1	2	3	4	5
3	Middle management	1	2	3	4	5
4	Junior management	1	2	3	4	5
5	Non-managerial workers	1	2	3	4	5
6	Trade union representatives	1	2	3	4	5

61 To what extent is diversity central to activities in the following departments in your organisation?

		Not central			Very central	
1	Marketing and sales	1	2	3	4	5
2	Finance and accounting	1	2	3	4	5
3	Communication and advertising	1	2	3	4	5
4	Strategic management / corporate strategy	1	2	3	4	5
5	Human resources	1	2	3	4	5
6	Manufacturing and production	1	2	3	4	5
7	Advertising	1	2	3	4	5
8	National/regional/local -branches/chains	1	2	3	4	5
9	Suppliers	1	2	3	4	5
10	Customers and consumers	1	2	3	4	5
11	CSR	1	2	3	4	5
12	Shareholders	1	2	3	4	5

62 How effective is diversity management in improving the following in your organisation?

	Not effective			Very effective	
Employees' attitudes and behaviours in terms of equality and diversity	1	2	3	4	5
Representation of diverse groups at different levels of the organisation	1	2	3	4	5
Employees' levels of commitment	1	2	3	4	5
Personal perceptions of fairness and justice	1	2	3	4	5
Employee performance	1	2	3	4	5
Employees' job satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5
Cost of labour turnover	1	2	3	4	5
Level of absenteeism	1	2	3	4	5
Quality of recruitment	1	2	3	4	5
Number of discrimination claims	1	2	3	4	5
Interaction between employees from diverse backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5
Business performance	1	2	3	4	5
Creativity and innovation in the organisation	1	2	3	4	5
Problem solving and decision making	1	2	3	4	5
Business successful with regard to market penetration	1	2	3	4	5
Diversification of customer base	1	2	3	4	5
Level of customer satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5

Section 10: Your personal details

This section aims to build a profile of people who are involved with managing diversity in the United Kingdom. It is important for us to collect these characteristics of respondents to determine the validity of the survey.

63

Gender:

Male

☐

01

Female

☐

02

64

Age:

16-25

☐

01

26-30

☐

02

31-40

☐

03

41-50

☐

04

51-60

☐

05

61-65

☐

06

65+

☐

07

65

Your qualifications:

Please indicate all the qualifications (or their equivalents) that you currently hold.

CSE's/school certificate

☐

01

GCE 'A' Levels/BTEC/'Highers'

☐

02

GCSE/GCE'O' Levels

☐

03

Bachelor degree (BA/BSc)

☐

04

Post graduate diploma

☐

05

Masters degree

☐

05

Doctorate (PhD, D Phil)

☐

06

Professional qualifications

☐

07

CIPD certificate

☐

08

None

☐

08

66

What is your responsibility/job role in relation to diversity management in your organisation?

Unit level responsibility

☐

01

National level responsibility

☐

03

International/global level responsibility

☐

05

Organisational responsibility

☐

02

European level responsibility

☐

04

67

How did you gain the expertise required for your current role in diversity management?

Formal education

☐

01

In-house training

☐

02

External training

☐

03

Work experience

☐

04

Diversity networks

☐

05

Other

☐

05

Please specify:.....

68

Which (if any) of the above did you find particularly useful in relation to your current diversity role?

69

Which skills do you need most in your job in diversity management? Please select all that apply:

Understanding of law

☐

01

Negotiating and influencing skills

☐

02

Understanding of business environment

☐

03

Leadership skills

☐

04

Understanding of human resource/ personnel management procedures

☐

05

Coaching, mentoring and facilitating skills

☐

06

Understanding of the perspectives of the diverse groups and individuals

☐

07

Communication and consensus building skills

☐

08

Understanding of inter-group relations

☐

09

Networking

☐

08

Chairmanship

☐

09

Analytical and critical thinking skills

☐

08

Sense of fairness

☐

09

Other: please specify:.....

70

Are you personally a member of any external networks or groups on diversity/equality?

Yes

☐

01

Please specify:.....

No

☐

02

71 Is your organisation a member of any external networks or groups on diversity/equality?
Yes ☐ ⁰¹ Please specify:..... No ☐ ⁰²

72 Do you find being a member of the above network(s)/group(s) useful?
Yes ☐ ⁰¹ No ☐ ⁰²

73 Do you have regular contact with the other institutions/companies that are implementing diversity policies and programmes?
Yes ☐ ⁰¹ Please specify:..... No ☐ ⁰²

74 In summary, what is your overall perception of how good your organisation is at managing diversity?

Very poor Excellent
1 2 3 4 5

75 We'd be very interested in any other views you have about the importance of managing diversity in your organisation which you feel could help us assess how successful organisations are in doing so.

If your organisation has an experience of progressing diversity which you would like to share with others to influence good practice and implement change, please email us at research@cipd.co.uk

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

All responses will be held and treated in confidence.

Appendix VI: Cross tabulations and chi-square tests for Chapters Seven and Eight

A. Cross tabulations for key drivers for diversity by sector (Sector * What are the key drivers for diversity in your organisation?)

Table A.1: Sector * Legal pressures

			Legal pressures		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	54	76	130
		% within sector	41.5%	58.5%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	19	97	116
		% within sector	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	16	20	36
		% within sector	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	89	193	282
		% within sector	31.6%	68.4%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 21.136, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table A.2: Sector * Corporate social responsibility

			Corporate social responsibility		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	59	71	130
		% within sector	45.4%	54.6%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	33	83	116
		% within sector	28.4%	71.6%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	13	23	36
		% within sector	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	105	177	282
		% within sector	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 7.546, df:2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .023

Table A.3: Sector * Belief in social justice

			Belief in social justice		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	81	49	130
		% within sector	62.3%	37.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	55	61	116
		% within sector	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	16	20	36
		% within sector	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	152	130	282
		% within sector	53.9%	46.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 6.958, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .031

Table A.4: Sector * Desire to improve customer relations

			Desire to improve customer relations		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	88	42	130
		% within sector	67.7%	32.3%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	54	62	116
		% within sector	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	17	19	36
		% within sector	47.2%	52.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	159	123	282
		% within sector	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 12.549, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .002

Table A.5: Sector * To improve products and services

			To improve products and services		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	86	44	130
		% within sector	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	56	60	116
		% within sector	48.3%	51.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	19	17	36
		% within sector	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	161	121	282
		% within sector	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 8.312, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .016

Table A.6: Sector * To enhance decision making

			To enhance decision making		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	94	36	130
		% within sector	72.3%	27.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	66	50	116
		% within sector	56.9%	43.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	22	14	36
		% within sector	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	182	100	282
		% within sector	64.5%	35.5%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 6.573, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .037

Table A.7: Sector * Trade union activities

			Trade union activities		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	102	28	130
		% within sector	78.5%	21.5%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	63	53	116
		% within sector	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	25	11	36
		% within sector	69.4%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	190	92	282
		% within sector	67.4%	32.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 16.347, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table A.8: Sector * Belief in social justice (ranked as most important)

			Top driver Belief in social justice		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	125	5	130
		% within sector	96.2%	3.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	105	11	116
		% within sector	90.5%	9.5%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	27	9	36
		% within sector	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	257	25	282
		% within sector	91.1%	8.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 15.708, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

B. Cross tabulations for categories covered by diversity policy by sector (Sector * Which of the following categories does your diversity policy cover?)

Table B.1: Sector * Social and economic background

			Social and economic background		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	117	13	130
		% within sector	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	92	24	116
		% within sector	79.3%	20.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	26	10	36
		% within sector	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	235	47	282
		% within sector	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 8.712, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .013

Table B.2: Sector * Criminal convictions

			Criminal convictions		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	113	17	130
		% within sector	86.9%	13.1%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	84	32	116
		% within sector	72.4%	27.6%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	24	12	36
		% within sector	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	221	61	282
		% within sector	78.4%	21.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 10.946, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .004

Table B.3: Sector * Marital status

			Marital status		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	86	44	130
		% within sector	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	58	58	116
		% within sector	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	18	18	36
		% within sector	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	162	120	282
		% within sector	57.4%	42.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 7.480, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .024

Table B.4: Sector * Parental status

			Parental status		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	101	29	130
		% within sector	77.7%	22.3%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	73	43	116
		% within sector	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	21	15	36
		% within sector	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	195	87	282
		% within sector	69.1%	30.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 8.524, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .014

Table B.5: Sector * Mental health

			Mental health		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	120	10	130
		% within sector	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	95	21	116
		% within sector	81.9%	18.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	28	8	36
		% within sector	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	243	39	282
		% within sector	86.2%	13.8%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 8.015, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .018

Table B.6: Sector * Political ideology

			Political ideology		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	125	5	130
		% within sector	96.2%	3.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	101	15	116
		% within sector	87.1%	12.9%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	29	7	36
		% within sector	80.6%	19.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	255	27	282
		% within sector	90.4%	9.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 10.487, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .005

Table B.7: Sector * Trade union membership

			Trade union membership		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	117	13	130
		% within sector	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	79	37	116
		% within sector	68.1%	31.9%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	25	11	36
		% within sector	69.4%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	221	61	282
		% within sector	78.4%	21.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 19.277, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table B.8: Sector * Disability

			Disability		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	66	64	130
		% within sector	50.8%	49.2%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	36	80	116
		% within sector	31.0%	69.0%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	10	26	36
		% within sector	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	112	170	282
		% within sector	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 12.428, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .002

Table B.9: Sector * Nationality

			Nationality		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	80	50	130
		% within sector	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	52	64	116
		% within sector	44.8%	55.2%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	12	24	36
		% within sector	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	144	138	282
		% within sector	51.1%	48.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 12.042, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .002

Table B.10: Sector * Religion

			Religion		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	69	61	130
		% within sector	53.1%	46.9%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	41	75	116
		% within sector	35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	12	24	36
		% within sector	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	122	160	282
		% within sector	43.3%	56.7%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 9.510, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .009

Table B.11: Sector * Gender / sex

			Gender / sex		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	68	62	130
		% within sector	52.3%	47.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	37	79	116
		% within sector	31.9%	68.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	12	24	36
		% within sector	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	117	165	282
		% within sector	41.5%	58.5%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 11.651, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .003

Table B.12: Sector * Ethnicity / race

			Ethnicity / race		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	71	59	130
		% within sector	54.6%	45.4%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	34	82	116
		% within sector	29.3%	70.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	11	25	36
		% within sector	30.6%	69.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	166	282
		% within sector	41.1%	58.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 18.119, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table B.13: Sector * Sexual orientation

			Sexual orientation		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	70	60	130
		% within sector	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	40	76	116
		% within sector	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	13	23	36
		% within sector	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	123	159	282
		% within sector	43.6%	56.4%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 10.291, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .006

Table B.14: Sector * Age

			Age		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	80	50	130
		% within sector	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	57	59	116
		% within sector	49.1%	50.9%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	15	21	36
		% within sector	41.7%	58.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	152	130	282
		% within sector	53.9%	46.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 6.279, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .043

C. Cross tabulations for organisational diversity activities by sector (Sector * Which of the following diversity activities does your organisation have?)

Table C.1: Sector * Awareness training

			Awareness training		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	72	58	130
		% within sector	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	15	101	116
		% within sector	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	10	26	36
		% within sector	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	97	185	282
		% within sector	34.4%	65.6%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 49.762, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table C.2: Sector * Manager diversity training

			Manager diversity training		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	77	53	130
		% within sector	59.2%	40.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	32	84	116
		% within sector	27.6%	72.4%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	22	14	36
		% within sector	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	131	151	282
		% within sector	46.5%	53.5%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 28.243, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table C.3: Sector * Diversity as a performance criteria

			Diversity as a performance criteria		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	116	14	130
		% within sector	89.2%	10.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	85	31	116
		% within sector	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	28	8	36
		% within sector	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	229	53	282
		% within sector	81.2%	18.8%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 10.542, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .005

Table C.4: Sector * Applying diversity standards

			Applying diversity standards		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	115	15	130
		% within sector	88.5%	11.5%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	80	36	116
		% within sector	69.0%	31.0%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	30	6	36
		% within sector	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	225	57	282
		% within sector	79.8%	20.2%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 14.769, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .001

Table C.5: Sector * Inclusion of diversity in managers’ performance assessments

			Inclusion of diversity in managers’ performance assessments		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	116	14	130
		% within sector	89.2%	10.8%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	91	25	116
		% within sector	78.4%	21.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	207	39	246
		% within sector	84.1%	15.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 246, Pearson chi-square: 5.342, df: 1, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .021

D. Cross tabulations for skills by job level (Job level * Which skills do you need most in your job in diversity management?)

Table D.1: Job level * Leadership skills

			Leadership skills		Total
			No	Yes	
Job level	Junior staff or supervisor	Count	34	7	41
		% within job level	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%
	Middle management	Count	73	44	117
		% within job level	62.4%	37.6%	100.0%
	Senior management or board member	Count	59	63	122
		% within job level	48.4%	51.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	166	114	280
		% within job level	59.3%	40.7%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 280, Pearson chi-square: 15.994, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table D.2: Job level * Understanding of human resource/personnel management procedures

			Understanding of human resource/personnel management procedures		Total
			No	Yes	
Job level	Junior staff or supervisor	Count	20	21	41
		% within job level	48.8%	51.2%	100.0%
	Middle management	Count	29	88	117
		% within job level	24.8%	75.2%	100.0%
	Senior management or board member	Count	33	89	122
		% within job level	27.0%	73.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	82	198	280
		% within job level	29.3%	70.7%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 280, Pearson chi-square: 8.963, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .011

Table D.3: Job level * Chairmanship

			Chairmanship		Total
			No	Yes	
Job level	Junior staff or supervisor	Count	41	0	41
		% within job level	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Middle management	Count	107	10	117
		% within job level	91.5%	8.5%	100.0%
	Senior management or board member	Count	103	19	122
		% within job level	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	251	29	280
		% within job level	89.6%	10.4%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 280, Pearson chi-square: 8.726, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .013

Table D.3: Job level * Understanding of inter-group relations

			Understanding of inter-group relations		Total
			No	Yes	
Job level	Junior staff or supervisor	Count	25	16	41
		% within job level	61.0%	39.0%	100.0%
	Middle management	Count	82	35	117
		% within job level	70.1%	29.9%	100.0%
	Senior management or board member	Count	64	58	122
		% within job level	52.5%	47.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	171	109	280
		% within job level	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 280, Pearson chi-square: 7.805, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .020

**E. Cross tabulations for source of expertise by sector and organisational size
(Sector / Organisational size * How did you gain the expertise required for your
current role in diversity management?)**

Table E.1: Sector * External training

			External training		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	74	56	130
		% within sector	56.9%	43.1%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	50	66	116
		% within sector	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	14	22	36
		% within sector	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	138	144	282
		% within sector	48.9%	51.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 6.352, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .042

Table E.2: Sector * Diversity networks

			Diversity networks		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	98	32	130
		% within sector	75.4%	24.6%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	59	57	116
		% within sector	50.9%	49.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	20	16	36
		% within sector	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	177	105	282
		% within sector	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 16.692, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table E.3: Sector * In-house training

			In-house training		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	97	33	130
		% within sector	74.6%	25.4%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	61	55	116
		% within sector	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	25	11	36
		% within sector	69.4%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	183	99	282
		% within sector	64.9%	35.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 13.433, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .001

Table E.4: Sector * Work experience

			Work experience		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	56	74	130
		% within sector	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	35	81	116
		% within sector	30.2%	69.8%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	8	28	36
		% within sector	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	99	183	282
		% within sector	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 282, Pearson chi-square: 7.488, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .024

Table E.5: Organisational size * Diversity networks

			Diversity networks		Total
			No	Yes	
Organisational size	Small	Count	71	30	101
		% Organisational size	70.3%	29.7%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	44	22	66
		% Organisational size	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Large	Count	57	51	108
		% Organisational size	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	172	103	275
		% Organisational size	62.5%	37.5%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 275, Pearson chi-square: 7.468, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .024

Table E.6: Organisational size * In-house training

			In-house training		Total
			No	Yes	
Organisational size	Small	Count	80	21	101
		% Organisational size	79.2%	20.8%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	40	26	66
		% Organisational size	60.6%	39.4%	100.0%
	Large	Count	59	49	108
		% Organisational size	54.6%	45.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	179	96	275
		% Organisational size	65.1%	34.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 275, Pearson chi-square: 14.644, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .001

Table E.7: Organisational size * Work experience

			Work experience		Total
			No	Yes	
Organisational size	Small	Count	43	58	101
		% Organisational size	42.6%	57.4%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	25	41	66
		% Organisational size	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%
	Large	Count	27	81	108
		% Organisational size	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	95	180	275
		% Organisational size	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 275, Pearson chi-square: 7.556, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .023

F. Cross tabulations for presence of a diversity function and budget by sector and organisational size

Table F.1: Sector * Diversity function

			Is there a specialised diversity/equal opportunities function in your organisation?		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	105	21	126
		% within sector	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	41	70	111
		% within sector	36.9%	63.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	28	8	36
		% within sector	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	174	99	273
		% within sector	63.7%	36.3%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 273, Pearson chi-square: 58.498, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table F.2: Sector * Diversity budget

			Does your organisation have a budget for diversity?		Total
			No	Yes	
Sector	Private sector	Count	108	15	123
		% within sector	87.8%	12.2%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	55	55	110
		% within sector	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	25	11	36
		% within sector	69.4%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	188	81	269
		% within sector	69.9%	30.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 269, Pearson chi-square: 39.440, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table F.3: Organisational size * Diversity function

			Is there a specialised diversity/equal opportunities function in your organisation?		Total
			No	Yes	
Organisational size	Small	Count	85	13	98
		% Organisational size	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	46	18	64
		% Organisational size	71.9%	28.1%	100.0%
	Large	Count	40	65	105
		% Organisational size	38.1%	61.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	171	96	267
		% Organisational size	64.0%	36.0%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 267, Pearson chi-square: 54.319, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

Table F.4: Organisational size * Diversity budget

			Does your organisation have a budget for diversity?		Total
			No	Yes	
Organisational size	Small	Count	86	12	98
		% Organisational size	87.8%	12.2%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	44	20	64
		% Organisational size	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%
	Large	Count	53	49	102
		% Organisational size	52.0%	48.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	183	81	264
		% Organisational size	69.3%	30.7%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 264, Pearson chi-square: 30.122, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .000

G. Cross tabulations for ownership of diversity-related activities and issues by sectorn (Sector * How much personal ownership do people at the following levels assume in diversity-related activities and issues?)

Table G.1: Sector * Middle management ownership

			Middle management ownership			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1)	(2)	High levels of ownership (3)	
Sector	Private sector	Count	32	57	25	114
		% within sector	28.1%	50.0%	21.9%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	23	43	39	105
		% within sector	21.9%	41.0%	37.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	9	9	14	32
		% within sector	28.1%	28.1%	43.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	109	78	251
		% within sector	25.5%	43.4%	31.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 251, Pearson chi-square: 9.888, df: 4, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .042

Table G.2: Sector * Trade union representatives ownership

			Trade union representatives ownership			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1)	(2)	High levels of ownership (3)	
Sector	Private sector	Count	15	29	9	53
		% within sector	28.3%	54.7%	17.0%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	12	43	47	102
		% within sector	11.8%	42.2%	46.1%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	6	5	9	20
		% within sector	30.0%	25.0%	45.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	33	77	65	175
		% within sector	18.9%	44.0%	37.1%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 175, Pearson chi-square: 17.974, df: 4, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .001

H. Cross tabulations for presence of a diversity function and budget by board members’ ownership of diversity-related activities and issues

Table H.1: Diversity function * Board members’ ownership

			Board members' ownership			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1)	(2)	High levels of ownership (3)	
Presence of a diversity function	No	Count	44	54	58	156
		% within diversity function	28.2%	34.6%	37.2%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	19	22	51	92
		% within diversity function	20.7%	23.9%	55.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	63	76	109	248
		% within diversity function	25.4%	30.6%	44.0%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 248, Pearson chi-square: 7.851, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .020

Table H.2: Diversity budget * Board members’ ownership

			Board members' ownership			Total
			Low levels of ownership (1)	(2)	High levels of ownership (3)	
Presence of a budget for diversity	No	Count	50	54	64	168
		% within diversity function	29.8%	32.1%	38.1%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	14	20	44	78
		% within diversity function	17.9%	25.6%	56.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	74	108	246
		% within diversity function	26.0%	30.1%	43.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 246, Pearson chi-square: 7.676, df: 2, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .022

I. Cross tabulations for centrality of diversity to activities in different organisational functions by sector (Sector * To what extent is diversity central to activities in the following departments in your organisation?)

Table I.1: Sector * Strategic management/corporate strategy

			Strategic management/corporate strategy					Total
			Not central 1	2	3	4	Very Central 5	
Sector	Private sector	Count	14	9	27	21	11	82
		% within sector	17.1%	11.0%	32.9%	25.6%	13.4%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	6	7	25	37	23	98
		% within sector	6.1%	7.1%	25.5%	37.8%	23.5%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	1	5	4	13	8	31
		% within sector	3.2%	16.1%	12.9%	41.9%	25.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	21	21	56	71	42	211
		% within sector	10.0%	10.0%	26.5%	33.6%	19.9%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 211, Pearson chi-square: 18.157, df: 8, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .020

Table I.2: Sector * Human resources

			Human resources					Total
			Not central 1	2	3	4	Very Central 5	
Sector	Private sector	Count	2	4	26	36	42	110
		% within sector	1.8%	3.6%	23.6%	32.7%	38.2%	100.0%
	Public sector	Count	0	3	9	49	46	107
		% within sector	.0%	2.8%	8.4%	45.8%	43.0%	100.0%
	Voluntary sector	Count	0	1	2	13	16	32
		% within sector	.0%	3.1%	6.3%	40.6%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	2	8	37	98	104	249
		% within sector	.8%	3.2%	14.9%	39.4%	41.8%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 249, Pearson chi-square: 16.202, df: 8, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .040

Table I.3: Sector * Customers and consumers

			Customers and consumers					Total	
			Not central 1	2	3	4	Very Central 5		
Sector	Private sector	Count	7	7	30	15	7	66	
		% within sector	10.6%	10.6%	45.5%	22.7%	10.6%	100.0%	
	Public sector	Count	3	6	20	29	19	77	
		% within sector	3.9%	7.8%	26.0%	37.7%	24.7%	100.0%	
	Voluntary sector	Count	1	3	8	7	11	30	
		% within sector	3.3%	10.0%	26.7%	23.3%	36.7%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	11	16	58	51	37	173
			% within sector	6.4%	9.2%	33.5%	29.5%	21.4%	100.0%

N of Valid Cases: 173, Pearson chi-square: 18.302, df: 8, Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .019

Appendix VII: Other publications and research by the author and their relevance to the thesis

Özbilgin, M. and Tatli, A. (2005), “Book review essay: understanding Bourdieu’s contribution to management and organization studies”, *Academy of Management Review* 30(4): 855-869.

This is a conceptual paper on potential use of Bourdieu’s framework in management and organisation studies. The paper integrates some of the ideas and conceptualisations developed for the analytical framework of the thesis.

Özbilgin, M. and Tatli, A. (2006a), *Developing a Diagnostic Check for Equality*, Manchester: EOC.

Özbilgin, M. and Tatli, A. (2006b), *Scoping of London Based Higher Education Institute Work Placement Practices within the Creative and Cultural Industries: research report*, London: London: Arts Council England and London Centre for Arts and Creative Enterprise.

Özbilgin, M. and Tatli A. (2007), *Opening up Opportunities through Private Sector Recruitment and Guidance Agencies*, EOC Working Paper Series 50, Manchester: EOC.

Tatli, A., Özbilgin, M. and Küskü, F. (forthcoming 2008a), “Gendered occupational outcomes: the case of professional training and work in Turkey”, in Eccles, J. and Watt, H. (eds.), *Explaining Gendered Occupational Outcomes*, Michigan: American Psychological Association Press.

These publications are based on research projects I have jointly conducted. These projects have been funded by the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Arts Council England. They do not have a direct link to the PhD research. However, as these works focused on the issues of equality and diversity, they indirectly informed my understanding of the field of diversity management in the UK.

Tatli, A., Özbilgin, M., Mulholland, G. and Worman, D. (2006a), *Survey Report 2006: Diversity in Business, How much Progress have Employers Made? First Findings*, London: CIPD.

Tatli, A., Özbilgin, M., Mulholland, G. and Worman, D. (2006b), *Managing Diversity Measuring Success*, London: CIPD.

Tatli, A. and Özbilgin, M. (forthcoming 2007), “Diversity management as calling: sorry, it’s the wrong number!”, in Koall, I., Bruchhagen, V. and Höher, F. (eds.), *Diversity Outlooks - Managing Diversity zwischen Ethik, Business Case und Antidiskriminierung*, Hamburg: LIT-Verlag Münster.

Tatli, A., Özbilgin, Worman, D. and Price, E. (forthcoming 2008b), *State of the Nation, Diversity in Business: a Focus for Progress*, London: CIPD.

The four publications above are based on my initial analysis of the CIPD online questionnaire survey. Unlike the PhD thesis, which analysed only some sections of the data that were relevant to diversity managers’ agency, these publications are informed by an analysis of whole survey data and provide a descriptive summary of the findings. The analysis provided in the thesis is more in-depth and sophisticated in its scope.

Özbilgin, M. and Tatli, A. (forthcoming 2008), *Global Diversity Management: An Evidence Based Approach*, London, New York: Palgrave.

Two chapters in this book are based on the Chapters Nine and Ten of the thesis.